

THE WORLD TOMORROW

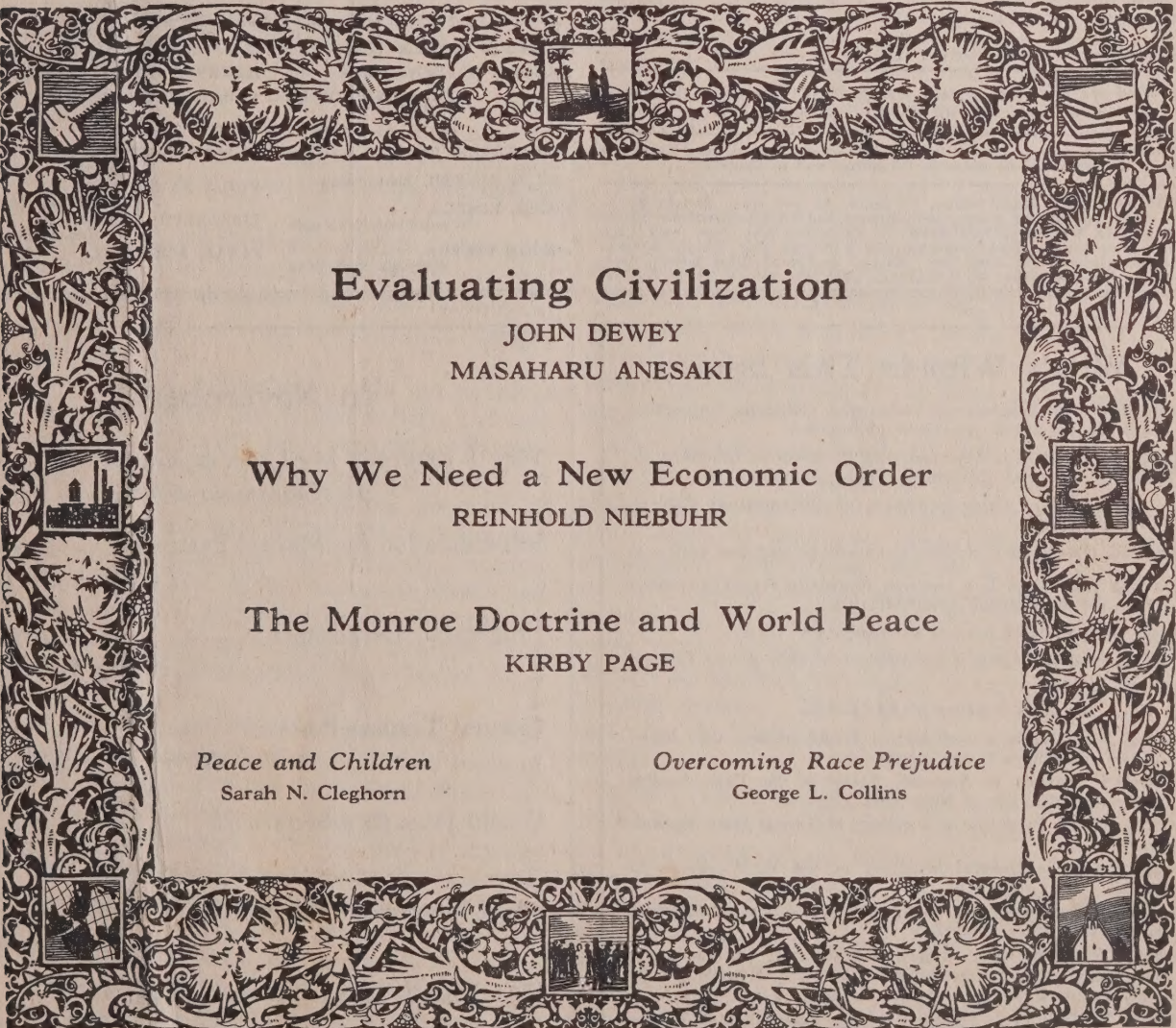
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OCTOBER, 1928

No. 10



Evaluating Civilization

JOHN DEWEY
MASAHARU ANESAKI

Why We Need a New Economic Order

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace

KIRBY PAGE

Peace and Children

Sarah N. Cleghorn

Overcoming Race Prejudice

George L. Collins

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
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The World Tomorrow

Vol. XI

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Kirby Page

The World Tomorrow

Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI

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Editorials

Smith and the Democratic Party

Unmistakably, there is a quality about Governor Smith calculated to appeal strongly to forward-looking people. It explains his ability to move groups vastly different from him in their political antecedents. His speech of acceptance rings, and was delivered with a force that bespoke sincerity. It was better than many of his critics had anticipated, and worse than reactionary Democrats had feared. Smith's candor and definiteness afford refreshing contrast to his Republican opponent.

Is it the duty, then, of those who wish to advance the social well-being of this country, who desire a warless world, who long for freedom from the tyranny of mercenary materialism, to vote for Alfred E. Smith? We do not think so.

Governor Smith is a Democrat. He can no more run far out ahead of his party than a horse the shaft to which it is hitched. The Democratic Party is the Republican Party with another name, more so, not less, than ever. The least attractive portions of Smith's Albany address were his efforts to skate over the corruption and ineptitude in his party's record, such as, for example, the Alien Property scandals and Red Hysteria under A. Mitchell Palmer. Because the Republican Party is corrupt in greater measure—and we believe it is—the Democratic Party is far from exculpated.

On what ground would a Smith vote be based? His comparatively outspoken treatment of Latin American relations? Yet he failed to call for the withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua, the acid test. Woodrow Wilson said beautiful things about our duty to the nations toward the south, but it was under his regime, as spokesman of the Democrats, that our marines without the constitutional sanction of Congress intervened in Haiti and Santo Domingo, and our army and navy carried bloodshed far into Mexican territory. Smith may not be Wilson; but fine as Smith's words sound to the ear, when examined they are vague and far from adequate.

His striking pledge of refusal to regard as part of our national domain the persons and property of our nationals in other countries? Unquestionably, a remarkable and sagacious change, a removal of serious international friction. But Smith's running-mate, Robinson, introduced the arbitration plea passed by the Senate during the last Mexican crisis which nevertheless specifically upheld this very principle, and it was endorsed wholesale by the Democratic Senators.

His stand on water-power? Certainly it has a different sound from the Republican grab-it-all policy; but again he will have to reckon with powerful groups within his party, and with interests even more recalcitrant than those with which he has often failed to cope successfully in his own State. He is vague here also, for who is to transmit, and under what conditions, the power he would produce on State and Government controlled sites?

His attitude toward labor? His record is better than that of the Republican Party; but he is weak, both in his speech and his record, on anti-labor injunctions, again an acid test. His manager is Raskob, anti-unionist, and behind Raskob is a host of other stalwarts of big business whose records toward trade unionism are as hard-boiled as they come. Smith can never, in our judgment, ride in on the efforts of Wall Street's pet symbols and expect to serve faithfully the laboring masses. The lion may lie down with the lamb; but the lamb usually fails to respond to morning reveille.

Smith's failure to fight through on his pledge to the child labor amendment is none too reassuring; his record of appointments on public utilities is spotty and at some points flagrantly bad; his fine record in respect to civil liberties is stained by his failure to do anything to check Tammany's annual slaughter of honest election returns in New York City; his own choice for New York's mayor has been a consistent bungler under whom graft has grown to scandalous proportions. In his acceptance speech he fails to discuss numerous questions of especial interest to thoughtful people—such

as the problems of the American Negro, the debt settlements, the League of Nations, and the World Court.

We admire the forthright way in which the Governor expressed himself on Prohibition. Nevertheless we regard his proposal to change the Eighteenth Amendment as utterly fantastic, in view of the fact that one-fourth of the states could block it. The chance of modifying the Volstead Act to any substantial degree is also very remote. The disillusionment of the person who votes for Smith on the assumption that wines and beer will soon return will be about as mournful as that of the citizen who casts his ballot for Hoover with the expectation that the prohibition law will be effectively enforced. As long as there is very powerful opposition to strict enforcement inside the Republican Party, it is futile to expect another Republican administration to do much better than the ardent dry President now in office, whose endorsement of Prohibition has been quite as emphatic as that of Hoover.

We do not wish to seem unresponsive to those individual qualities which distinguish Smith from many other politicians. In previous issues we have dealt at once appreciatively and critically with New York's greatest Governor. But we are concerned lest once more people of pioneering minds make the same old error characteristic of American progressive politics, and lose a precious opportunity to begin the building of a constructive opposition party. Evidence gathers that "the old party game" is likely to gather in its quadrennial victims. *The Nation* declares that "If Al Smith continues to speak out with that clarity of utterance he will win the support of most of the five million voters who supported La Follette in 1924." *The New Republic* stated, before Smith's speech, and without humor, we fear, that "If Hoover and Smith should, in their incarnations as official candidates, play their new parts by continuing to beam benevolently but vacantly on their fellowcountrymen, the progressive can always take refuge in a vote for Norman Thomas, but in all probability he will find in the end a sufficient excuse for exercising a positive choice."

As *The New Republic* is now beginning to understand, candidates do not continue, ever, merely to beam vacantly; when a campaign develops, there is always a sufficient excuse for those whose passion it is to discover excuses for doing a little something cheaply. Such a passion seems a notable possession of American progressives, liberals, and radicals when it comes to politics. But the need of the time is not an excuse for easy acquiescence in hope long betrayed, or in a political opportunism; but rather the sturdy tenacity and the political imagination to create a potent party, however long it may require; a party, in the words of Norman Thomas, that is "not concerned with ephemeral issues but with a new order of society."

The Satyagraha Ashram

Mahatma Gandhi lives with a group of his disciples in a religious retreat near Ahmedabad. It is probable that more spiritual power emanates from the Satyagraha Ashram than from any other spot in the world. Tens of millions of persons are profoundly affected by the example and teaching of this colony now numbering 133 men, 66 women and 78 children. During the thirteen years since the Ashram was founded, eleven principles have been found necessary to the attainment of the great objective of qualifying its members for the kind of service to country that is not inconsistent with the universal welfare.

First comes the search for truth. Worshipers must refrain from untruth even for what appears to be good of family or country. The practice of non-violence of love is next. Reverence must be shown for all life from the tiniest insect to the noblest man. One must never be angry even in the face of the most extreme provocation, but injustice must always be resisted by non-violent means. Rather than submit to wrong, a man must be prepared to endure any suffering or loss. Absolute chastity is a third principle. Not only must lust be shunned but even within marriage "one must not have a carnal mind regarding one's wife or husband but must consider her or him as one's lifelong friend and establish relationship of perfect purity." Control of palate is another principle. Eating is necessary only for sustaining the body as a fit instrument for service and must never be practiced for self-indulgence. Meat, tobacco and liquor are excluded from the Ashram. A fifth principle is non-stealing. Mere honesty is not sufficient. "It is also theft if one receives anything which one does not really need." And this leads naturally to the next principle, that of non-possession of property. Personal possessions should be confined to bare necessities.

Physical labor is required of all members. Spinning, weaving, carding, farming, dairying, tanning and carpentry are the chief occupations with the colony. The eighth principle is swadeshi, or the purchasing of one's requirements locally rather than from foreign lands. "He therefore serves the world best by first serving his neighbor." Fearlessness is enjoined on all members. One must not be afraid of parents, caste, Government, poverty or death. Removal of untouchability is the tenth principle and tolerance is the last. Members of the Ashram arise at four o'clock. Morning and evening worship require an hour and fifteen minutes; eight hours are devoted to physical labor; three and one-half hours are given over to recreation. New members are rarely admitted until they have previously observed the rules of the Ashram in their homes for one year.

The Trend in China

If we remake an old saying to read: Happy the country that stays off the front page, China has not been very happy of late. Since the emergence of the Nationalists as sole power and the capture of Peking (renamed Peiping) this much-harassed land has not infrequently occupied the front page along with the latest murder and accident.

We are glad to record that the United States has taken the lead in recognizing the new regime in China. A treaty was also negotiated between the two governments regulating trade relations. We may well applaud this action, but we must not overlook the reasons behind it. The United States, to be sure, has been traditionally a friend of China and all due weight should be accorded this important fact. To be realistic, however, we must also remember that this friendship was a very useful thing in checking the advances of other Great Powers in the Pacific. Similarly at the present time some marines and airplanes have been withdrawn from China, but there still remains a strong American fleet of 55 ships in Asiatic waters together with 2,500 marines and 5,000 bluejackets. Nor have we renounced the "right" of extra-territoriality, deeming the situation not ripe for that. None the less the action of the United States remains laudable and friendly and ought to go a far way in restoring this country to the position of leadership it formerly held.

In sharp contrast is the attitude of Japan. Premier Tanaka is swinging the Big Stick, particularly with regard to Manchuria. This province has never been renounced by China, but economically it is largely controlled by Japan. This furnished the pretext for Japanese interference. The Tanaka government has kept the governor of Manchuria, the son of Chang Tso-lin, from joining with the Nationalists; it has forbidden all war in that province; by its hostile attitude it has brought about a situation bordering on open conflict. Japan's purpose is the establishment of a kind of Monroe Doctrine in the Far East which would raise an impenetrable smoke screen for its imperialistic actions. If we condemn Japan roundly for this we must be just as critical of our own imperialism. The interests of Japan in China are more vital to her than those of the United States in that country. But such consideration should not conceal the real character of the Japanese action in Manchuria any more than it justifies marine rule in Nicaragua.

Despite the threat from Japan the Nationalists are steadily moving forward. Their general principles are finding concrete expression. They are endeavoring to end the unequal treaties, customs' control and extra-territorial rights. The energetic new government has dared to announce the end of the unequal treaties to Japan, Denmark, France and Italy; it has regained

control over customs in several ports; and 7,000 Japanese troops have been withdrawn from Shantung. Whether these moves will be followed by serious foreign trouble remains to be seen. Time alone will tell whether the Nationalists will succeed, as their well-wishers fervently hope. But they are moving steadily onward.

China Turns Toward Militarism

"The most important result of the recent episode in Shantung, looking at it from the vantage point of fifty years hence, is the effect it has had in militarizing the minds of Chinese youth." Thus writes an American who has lived in China for many years. The evidence is cumulative that many Chinese patriots are reaching the conclusion that freedom can be achieved only by armaments and that military preparedness is necessary. Military training is being installed in many colleges and is being supported enthusiastically by the students. Even the Boy Scouts in Shanghai are seeking enlistment as a military unit in China's armed forces. Many women are being trained in canteen work and nursing. The attitude revealed in the following quotation from a letter recently received from a Chinese student after his return from the United States is becoming more and more widespread:

By my one year's stay in the International House, New York City, I have been pretty well shaped into an international citizen. But from now on I wish to declare openly to my foreign friends that I am going to be a patriotic citizen of China and never of the world. I have seen and learned enough about those foreigners here. Why should we foolishly present a piece of goodwill to the wild beasts of the jungle? Naturally they could not very well distinguish the black from the white. What they were after was food, pure food to fatten themselves and nothing else. In order to make them friendly, if not obedient, we have got to apply weapons which could easily overcome their physical strength. I believe that is how we are going to fight the good fight later on. In order to prepare myself for the revenge, which is sure to come in the next decade or so, I will pledge my loyalty to my beloved China; I will take up arms whenever duty calls; I will sow the seeds of hatred and revenge for the Japanese among the future generations in this country; I will sever all correspondences with my Japanese friends in the world; I will never patronize Japanese business. I am glad that the world of hypocrisy has at last made me a better and stronger man.

Bold handwriting appears on the wall. Let the imperialist nations read and take warning. China's millions are going to get free. If the Great Powers are wise they will proceed rapidly with the restoration of China's autonomy and independence. If they refuse or procrastinate, they will be confronted within two or three decades with an infuriated and armed nation of three hundred million people.

Squandering Thirty-five Billions

The peoples of the earth are now spending three and a half billion dollars annually in preparation for war, according to a recent report of the League of Nations. This money is not only wasted, so far as international security is concerned; it actually increases the danger to world peace by adding to the volume of suspicion and fear. The preparedness program of the United States accounts for about one-sixth of the total. While our army is comparatively small, due to our protected geographical situation, our expenditures for the navy rank at the top. Our percentage of the world's total naval tonnage has increased from 12.2 in 1913 to 19 in 1919 and 25.5 in 1926; while Japan's increase was from 7.8 to 9.2 to 13.8; whereas Great Britain's share has decreased from 32 to 30.3 to 23.5 per cent.

No more fascinating and rewarding reflection is possible than to estimate the volume and character of the education for peace which could be carried on with the money now wasted on armaments. Suppose the nations should decide to outlaw all war, create adequate international organization, rely upon the processes of peace for protection and spend their money on international understanding and friendship. The 35 billion dollars per decade now being squandered in armaments would make available for peace education during a ten-year period one billion dollars for each of the eight largest nations, 750 millions for each of the next eight countries, and nearly 500 millions for each of the remaining 44 nations. We urge our readers to use an hour in calculating how this huge sum might wisely be spent on international education, and then ask themselves this question: Which program is more *practicable*, that of the militarist or that of the pacifist?

Moving Toward Renunciation

More than thirty nations have expressed their intention of signing the Pact of Paris and doubtless many others will do so within the near future. Fears that Russia would be excluded have proved to be groundless and the favorable response of the Soviet Government is extremely important. If the treaty is actually ratified by most of the nations and becomes operative, a new day in international diplomacy will have dawned, in spite of the reservations contained in the accompanying notes. National honor, instead of being a cause of war, may now become a powerful bulwark of peace. Having agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to settle all international disputes by pacific means, our national honor is now at stake. Public opinion against war has been strengthened immeasurably by this pact.

The real significance of the treaty, as we pointed out in a previous issue, will be determined by the further

measures which the signatories adopt. There is reason to believe that genuine progress toward disarmament will be made within the next year or two. The last excuse for our refusal to join the Permanent Court has been removed and in all probability we shall soon reach an agreement concerning the Senate reservation and then proceed to adhere to the court's protocol at the next session of Congress. It is of the utmost importance that we also sign the optional clause, thus accepting the affirmative jurisdiction of the court over justiciable questions with other countries that have taken similar action. If all nations would sign the optional clause, much of the peril inherent in the reservation that each nation has the right to determine when it is acting in self-defense would be removed.

Another result of the treaty which has not received adequate attention is the increased difficulties it places in the way of military intervention by the Great Powers. If the so-called backward countries ratify the treaty along with the imperialist powers, armed intervention will be much more difficult to justify, since the signatories have agreed to settle all disputes by pacific means. Moreover, if the optional clause is signed the Permanent Court could be called upon by the weak country to decide whether intervention is justifiable.

We agree with Professor Borchard that the pact involves us in the affairs of Europe. But we were involved already. A nation to whom the rest of the world owes 25 billion dollars and that accepts the prevailing doctrines of national interest and national sovereignty cannot possibly disentangle itself from the disputes of other nations. Our only hope is in the creation of pacific means of settling all controversies.

Changes in Editorial Staff

We are sorry to announce that we shall no longer have the services of Miss Agnes A. Sharp as Managing Editor. For two years she has been rendering most important service to our readers. Those persons who have been close to this magazine know that Miss Sharp has been carrying a heavy load of administrative responsibility and that much of this journal's attractive make-up has been due to her discriminating taste. Reinhold Niebuhr is moving to New York this month to assume his duties at the Union Theological Seminary and hereafter will participate more actively in the editorial direction of THE WORLD TOMORROW. H. C. Engelbrecht, who for a year and a half was our efficient Assistant Editor and who more recently has been doing special work for this journal, has become a member of the staff of *Social Science Abstracts*, the new magazine of seven leading social science societies. Miss Gladys Meyerand, who has been connected with the Methodist publications in Cincinnati, joins our staff as Editorial Assistant.

A Critique of American Civilization

JOHN DEWEY

WHEN I am called upon to try and sum up the gains and losses in American life, I experience a profound misgiving. Where are we going? Toward what are we moving? The value of any changing thing lies in its consequences, and the consequences of the present conditions and forces are not here. To make an evaluation is to prophesy, and where is there the astronomer who can predict the future of our social system?

I should not, however, indulge in the expression of these doubts if they were merely personal misgivings. They seem rather to be indicative, evidential, in a peculiar way of the state and prospects of American civilization. By this I mean something more than the platitude that we are in a state of social transition and flux. I mean in the first place, that when we list items of gain and loss in opposite columns, that we find paradoxes, contradictions of extraordinary range and depth; and in the second place, that these contradictions are evidence of what seems to be the most marked trait of our present state—namely, its inner tension and conflict. If ever there was a house of civilization divided within itself and against itself, it is our own today. If one were to take only some symptoms and ignore others, one might make either a gloomy or a glowing report, and each with equal justice—as far as each went.

IF one looks at the overt and outer phenomena, at what I may call the public and official, the externally organized, side of our life, my own feeling about it would be one of discouragement. We seem to find everywhere a hardness, a tightness, a clamping down of the lid, a regimentation and standardization, a devotion to efficiency and prosperity of a mechanical and quantitative sort. If one looks exclusively at the activities of great numbers of individuals in different spheres (and by individuals I mean voluntary groups as well), there is a scene of immense vitality that is stimulating to the point of inspiration. This contradiction between the inner and the outer, the private and the public, phases of our civilization, seems to be its most significant feature; the sense of its existence and scope furnishes the gist of all I have to say.

One finds, I think, the fact of this opposition reflected, at least implicitly, in all the articles that report upon special phases of our life. Let me note, almost at random, some of its obviously visible signs. In domestic politics, there is an extraordinary apathy, indicated not only by abstention from the polls, but in the seemingly calm indifference with which the public takes the

revelation of corruption in high places. On the other hand, there was never previously so much publicity, so much investigation and exposure having a genuinely scientific quality. And unless one thinks that the cynical indifference of the public is an evidence of thoroughgoing corruption not merely of some officials and business men, but of the heart of the American people, there is ground for thinking that the prevailing attitude toward political life is itself an indication of a growing sense that our reliance and hope is being increasingly put on agencies that lie deeper than the political; that there is a feeling, as yet inarticulate and groping, that the real needs of the American people must be met by means more fundamental than our traditional political institutions put at our disposal. If, and as far as, our political apathy is due to widespread distrust of the reality, under present conditions, of existing political forms, there is ground for belief that social forces that are much more truly characteristic of our social life than is our inherited political machinery are destined to change the latter, when there will be a revival of political interest, and only then.

The domestic political scene presents a still more obvious contradiction in connection with the matter of intolerance. Never have the forces of bigotry and intolerance been so well organized and so active. It is enough to refer to the Ku Klux Klan, not yet negligible. On the other hand, for the first time in history there is the practical possibility of the election of a Roman Catholic for the office of the presidency. This contradiction may not seem very significant, but to me at least it seems deeply symptomatic of our entire condition, that which I have called inner division and tension. The very factors that have produced the tightening up and solidifying of the forces of reaction are also producing a more conscious and determined liberal attitude. Organization and outer power still lie with the former; but the latter is in process of fermentation and inner growth, and the future may be on its side. So viewed, I would assign to the fact just cited a significance that taken in isolation it does not possess.

A MORE important if vaguer illustration of the point is found in the whole situation as regards freedom of thought and speech. It goes without saying that never before in our history have there been such flagrant violations of what one would have supposed to be fundamental in the American system. It is customary to refer this particular reënforcement of reaction to the war. Undoubtedly the reference is correct, and

yet the war was an opportunity rather than the decisive cause. The sources lie further back in the development of our regime of control of economic forces. On the other hand, never was the spirit of self-criticism so alert and penetrating. If our complacency has grown more strident and self-conscious, so has our spirit of self-examination and discrimination. This fact has been noted sufficiently in special articles so that there is no need to dwell upon it or cite evidence. If we are our own "best pals" we are now also our own "severest critics." Public and organized censorship and repression have counterpart in spontaneous and private exploration and exhibition of shortcomings and evils. To all appearance, the age of muckraking has disappeared. But by contrast, that outburst was comparatively external and superficial. It dealt with specific and outward ailments. If the fervor of exposure and condemnation that marked the nineties has vanished, it is also true that the critical spirit has turned inward and is now concerned with underlying intellectual and moral causes.

In international matters, there is, it seems to me, a like contradiction. That imperialistic policy is now, in an economic form, our dominating note seems to me too evident to need proof. But, in spite of the pious words of the Hughes-Coolidge regime, it is becoming recognized for what it is. Only occasionally perhaps does the protest due to its recognition find effective expression in action, as it did in the case of Mexico noted in the article by Norman Thomas. But nevertheless we are not so somnolent as we once were. Our economic policy in Nicaragua goes marching on with the support of marines; but there was a time when similar interventions (with apologies to our authorities for not calling them "interpositions") went almost without notice, beyond the pious hope that we were instilling some decent fear of God in a lot of semi-savages. Perception of great social changes usually lags far behind the changes themselves, so far behind that it is incapable of modifying their operation. But perception of the growth of economic imperialism is not perhaps so far behind the fact, and consequently so important, as has been the case in other matters. There are some grounds for hoping that it is nearly enough up to date so as to exercise a contemporary influence.

IT has long been a moot question how civilization is to be measured. What is the gauge of its status and degree of advance? Shall it be judged by its *élite*, by its artistic and scientific products, by the depth and fervor of its religious devotion? Or by the level of the masses, by the amount of ease and security attained by the common man? Was pre-revolutionary Russia at the acme of European civilization because of its achievements in literature, music and the drama? Or will the new Russia if it succeeds, even at the expense of retro-

gression in these matters, in elevating the life of the masses, stand at a higher level? As between the two sides to the controversy, there is no common premise and hence no possibility of a solution. One side can claim to stand for ideal attainments as the ultimate measure and accuse the other side of having a low and merely materialistic criterion. This other side can retort with a charge of aristocratic harsh indifference to the well-being and security of the great number to whom the struggle for life is all important, and inquire what is the value of an art and a science from which most are excluded, or of a religion that for the many is merely a dream of a remote bliss compensatory to the suffering of present evils.

The question is evidently crucial for an appraisal of gains in American civilization. From what base line shall we set out to measure? Those who engage in glorification of American life uniformly point to the fact that the lot of the common man (however poor it may still be from an absolute standard) is at least better than that of his fellow in other countries or at other epochs.

If we ask for the intellectual and ideal content of this common life, the tale is not so reassuring. Even when we have discounted the exaggerations of the now familiar denunciations of the yokelry and the booboisie, enough truth remains to be depressing. It would probably be easy to fill my allotted space with evidences of the triviality and superficiality of life as it is lived by the masses. It is perhaps enough to refer for a good-humored depiction of the scene to Charles Merz's "American Bandwagon." And if we take achievements in higher culture as our standard of valuation, not even the most optimistic can give our civilization a very high rating. To take one illustration, our physical plant for scientific study is far superior to that of any European country; measured by capital invested, it might even be equal to that of all Europe. The results hardly correspond. The pressure toward immediate commercial application is great, and the popular hero is the inventor, not the investigator and discoverer. Burbank and Edison are names to conjure with, while those of Willard Gibbs and Michelson are faint rumors on a thin air.

The dispute concerns ultimate standards, and hence, as has been said, cannot be settled—except by taking sides. But one can say that in the end the value of elevation of the common man in security, ease and comfort of living is to be viewed as an opportunity for a possible participation in more ideal values; and that there is something defective, to say the least, in a civilization wherein achievements in the former do not terminate in a general participation in spiritual values. To bring about opportunities is to have done much; but if the opportunities are not utilized, the actual outcome is a reproach and condemnation. Here then is the

ue: Admitting that our civilization displays a relative superiority in its material basis, what are we likely to build upon it in religion, science and art, and in the amenities and graces of life?

The question is framed with respect to the future. There is some truth in the old saying that we have been too occupied with the material conquest of a continent to occupy ourselves with higher things. But since the former task is fairly accomplished, we may well ask ourselves how it stands with the other part of the saying: that when we get around to it, we shall make "culture hum"? The distinctive pioneer virtues have departed with the pioneer age. Where is the enormous vital energy that marked this age now directing itself? Survey of the immediate scene would seem to indicate that much of it is going into a frenzied money-making, an equally frenzied material enjoyment of the money that is made, and an imitative "having a good time" on the part of those who haven't made much money. There are those who think that in conquering a continent, our own souls have been subdued by the material fruits of the victory. Prosperity is our God.

The case has been so put as to suggest the worst possibility. There is much to be said on the other side; there are many hopeful signs that might be pointed to. A series devoted to gains in American civilization, seem to be emphasizing losses. Yet what has been said may be relevant in at least bringing to the fore the intimate problem, that of the measure of gain and loss. It is also tributary, I think, to my main point—that we are in the throes of an inner conflict and division. For the situation taken at its worst is that of the overt and public phase of our life, while the things that may be set forth on the other side of the account have to do with forces that are as yet unorganized and inchoate.

REFERENCE to the educational situation is pertinent at this point. It is unnecessary to review what has already been said by Mr. Sharp in his article. Yet the rapid and intense extension of interest and activity in adult, parental and pre-school education, in education at both ends of the scale, is an indication that cannot be ignored, any more than can the remarkable development of progressive schools. The most extraordinary matter, however, is the expansion of secondary and higher education. No one can tell its cause or import, but in velocity and extent it marks nothing less than a revolutionary change. It used to be said that only one in twenty of the elementary pupils found their way into high school, and only one in a hundred into college. Now the number in the lower schools is only five times that in the secondary schools, and there is one student in a college to twenty in the elementary. And the astonishing thing is that the expansion has occurred at an accelerating rate since 1910. There are

for example at least six times as many students in colleges and professional schools as there were thirty years ago, and tenfold more in secondary schools. Let the worst possible be said about the quality of the education received, and it remains true that we are in the presence of one of the most remarkable social phenomena of history. It is impossible to gauge the release of potentialities contained in this change; it is incredible that it should not eventuate in the future in a corresponding intellectual harvest. While, as I have said, it is impossible to determine its causes, it at least shows that we are finally beginning to make good our ideal of equal educational opportunity for all. I believe that a considerable part of the development is due to the rise in status of immigrants of the second and third generation; and in spite of all that is said in depreciation of those from southern and southeastern Europe, I believe that when our artistic renaissance comes, it will proceed largely from this source.

The reverse side of the pattern is, of course, the intensification of efforts of special interests to control public and private education for their own ends, mainly under the guise of a nationalistic patriotism. The recent revelations of the efforts of the Electric Light and Power Companies to utilize the schools are much in point. I know of nothing more significant than the fact that the instructions sent out to publicity agents for manufacturing public opinion and sentiment uniformly combine "press and schools" as the agencies to be influenced. In some respects these revelations seem to me more sinister than those of the oil scandals, in that they represent an attempt at corruption of the source of public action. In any case, we have a striking instance of what I have called our inner conflict and tension. Our democracy is at least far enough advanced so that there is a premium put on the control of popular opinion and beliefs. There was a time in history when the few did not have to go through the form of consulting the opinion of the many. Government by press agents, by "counsellors of public relations," by propaganda in press and schools, is at least evidence that that time has passed. We have enough government by public opinion so that it is necessary for the economic powers that govern to strive to regulate the agencies by which that opinion is created.

If we ask which forces are to win, those that are organized, that know what they are after and that take systematic means to accomplish their end, or those that are spontaneous, private and scattered—like those that have resulted in the expansion of our higher school population—we have, I think, the problem of our civilization before us. To answer the problem is to engage in prophecy that may well be gratuitous. It goes back to faith rather than to proof by sight and touch. Yet there *are* reasons for hoping for a favorable issue. One of them is the fact that our civilization, whatever else

it may be, is one of diffusion, of ready circulation. It is a fancy of mine to picture the essence of our life in terms of the Ford car. On the one side, there is the acme of mechanization, of standardization, of external efficiency. On the other, there is, as the effect, a vast mobility, a restless movement of individuals. The resulting mobility is aimless and blind; it can be easily represented as exhibiting a mere love of movement for its own sake, an abandonment to speed of change for its own sake. But nevertheless the movement, the instability, is there. The industrial forces that would control it for their own purposes automatically, and as by some principle of fate, multiply and intensify it. Thus the division, the tension, increases. A standardized, regimented technology of industry continually releases unexpected and unforeseen forces of individuality. In its effort to control their operation, it redoubles its repressive and mechanizing efforts. Is it a mere compensatory fantasy to suppose that in the process it is inevitably and unwittingly working its own doom? The answer given will depend upon one's conceptions of the ultimate structure of individual human nature, of what its potentialities will do when they are liberated.

IT is a trite saying that our social experiment, that of raising the level of the mass, is an unprecedented one. It is impossible, however, to separate the scope of the endeavor from that side of our civilization that is most open to criticism—its devotion to quantity at the expense of quality. It is as true of civilizations as of persons that their defects and their qualities of value go together. Moreover the ideal of mass elevation is intimately connected with the fact of diffusion. Our democratic fathers apparently thought that the desired elevation of the mass would automatically occur if certain political agencies were instituted. By one of the ironies of history, these political agencies are just the thing that lent themselves, indirectly rather than directly, to appropriation and manipulation by the few in possession of ultimate economic power. But meantime the very forces of industry have created mechanisms that operate to bring about diffusion on an unprecedented scale. European critics of our culture often ignore the fact that many of the things they criticize are due to the fact that we have been compelled perforce to undertake the task which Europe shirked. In their animadversions upon our lack of higher culture, they pass over the fact that millions of European immigrants have, and have realized, opportunities here that they never had at home. The mass and quantitative aspect of our civilization has thus a uniquely positive significance. All the facts indicate that if we should attain the higher values by which civilization is to be ultimately measured, it will be by a mass achievement, and not be the work of a chosen few, of an *élite*. It will be by social osmosis, by diffusion.

If, then, I have not touched specifically upon the industrial and technological phase of our life, it is because I regard it as central and dominant. It is the prepared mechanism of diffusion and distribution. As to the ultimate question about it is not the distribution of pecuniary incomes that it finally effects. That question is, indeed, of an importance not to be ignored. But its last importance is its bearing upon the distribution of imponderables, the diffusion of education and of a share in the values of intellectual and artistic life. While it is true that devotion to the economic phase of life is materialism, and that so judged our civilization is materialistic, it is also true that we have broken down the age-long old world separation of the material and the ideal, and that the destruction of this dualism is a necessary precondition of any elevated culture that is the property of a people as a whole. The constructive function, that of using the economic and material basis as a means for widely shared ideal ends, is only begun. But it is far enough along to provide what never existed before: operative agencies of diffusion. Even though it be of the nature of prophecy rather than of record, I do not believe that in the long run anything can defeat or seriously deflect the normal diffusive effect of our economic forces.

The tightening-up, the repression, the mechanization, standardization, to which allusion has been made, presents the attempt at obstruction and diversion of the normal tendency. The liberation of individual potentialities, the evocation of personal and voluntary associated energies, manifest the actual effect still expressed in a form as inchoate as the effort in the opposite direction is organic. Our faith is ultimately in individuals and their potentialities. In saying this, I do not mean what is sometimes called individualism as opposed to association. I mean rather an individuality that operates in and through voluntary associations. If our outward scene is one of externally imposed organization behind and beneath there is working the force of liberated individualities, experimenting in their own ways to find and realize their own ends. The testimony of history is that in the end such a force, however scattered and inchoate, ultimately prevails over all set institutionalized forms, however firmly established the latter may seem to be.

IN concluding, let me confess that I am aware as I have been writing that I have been influenced, undoubtedly so I think, by the mood of self-conscious criticism that has overtaken us. In reality, I believe that we have already accomplished very much in the way of diffusion of culture—whatever that elusive word may signify. It is a part of any humane culture to be concerned to see that others share in it. Our newly acquired self-consciousness makes one hesitant to speak of social service and practical idealism; the overwork

ords have taken on a somewhat ridiculous color. But is true that no other people at any other age has been permeated with the spirit of sharing as our own. If defects go with qualities, so do qualities with defects. The excessive sociability that breeds conformity also makes us uneasy till advantages are shared with the less fortunate. Every significant civilization gives a

new meaning to "culture." If this new spirit, so unlike that of old-world charity and benevolence, does not already mark an attainment of a distinctive culture on the part of American civilization, and give the promise and potency of a new civilization, Columbus merely extended and diluted the Old World. But I still believe that he discovered a New World.

Why We Need a New Economic Order*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

AN economic system must be judged by its efficiency in the production of goods, its ability to secure a fair distribution of the goods it creates, and by its ethical, social and human byproducts. The economic system under which we now live, usually called capitalism, may be variously defined, but its outstanding characteristic is the private ownership of industries, the processes of which require an even higher degree of social cooperation and the social consequences of which are becoming increasingly central and terminative in the life of any community. While the private ownership is in some respects merely an anachronistic survival of ages when industry was in fact a private and individual, at least no more than a family, enterprise, it maintains itself today not only by the force of tradition but by force of the assumption that individual initiative alone can give the impetus and furnish the drive which industry needs for the accomplishment of its tasks, and by the further assumption that the initiative of the individual can be most effectively encouraged by appeal to the possessive urge.

It is a large question whether the latter assumption is psychologically correct. Though many social facts speak for its truth it must always be remembered that hypotheses which are stubbornly held have a way of justifying themselves. An economic system which is based upon the assumption that greed is the most effective spring of human action has the tendency of creating individuals who seem to substantiate that assumption. That is one of the ethical byproducts of an economic order which may condemn it in the eyes of the thoughtful even if society maintains it for its supposed material benefits.

SINCE the productivity of industry seems to be the most important criterion of the worth of an economic system it will be well to apply this test first to our present system. Much of the vaunted efficiency of modern capitalism is, in fact, attributable to modern industrialism rather than to capitalism. It rests not

upon the initiative of private ownership but upon the advance of science, upon the invention of automatic machines and the general improvement in industrial technology. It is, in fact, modern industrialism which is making capitalism anachronistic. It is undoubtedly true that the initiative of individuals contributed much to modern industrialism in its pioneer period. Communities are proverbially tardy in adjusting themselves to new facts and ideas. Modern industry was created by pioneer individuals who were forced to resist social and political restraints which survived the attachment of the political state to the feudal economic order. Inevitably they rationalized their conflict by idealizing the values of freedom and individualism. Since the pioneer stage of industry is passed and industrial processes have become an integral part of the community's life the initiative of individual owners is a decreasing and the cooperation of the community is an increasing factor in industrial efficiency. In the early stages inventors were individual experimenters; today the schools of the community produce the technologists. At first the owner was invariably the executive whose administrative ability seemed to account for the success of the enterprise. Today executives as well as experimenters are employees, and ownership with its privileges has been divorced from technological and administrative function. Ownership of great enterprises falls increasingly into the hands of banks and of the idle heirs of once busy and useful captains of industry. At the beginning, the competitive struggle did operate to guarantee the worth of products and the reasonableness of their price. Today combinations and price fixing arrangements attempt to eliminate the weakness of competition, its wastefulness, without maintaining its virtue, the fixation of a just price. Industry therefore becomes increasingly a conspiracy of the owners against the public.

THE difference between the pioneer and mature stage of an industry and the comparative efficacy of individual initiative in them can be seen most vividly in a new industry, such as the automobile industry,

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which passed from infancy to full maturity in the short period of a quarter century. It is difficult to deny the worth of the contributions of individual pioneers in the early stages of this industry, or of the value of competition in arriving at the present high standards of the product. Inventors were frequently also producers, and owners were generally executives. Today competition is being eliminated by larger and larger combinations, and, where it still persists, operates chiefly to load the industry with excessive advertising and distribution costs and with expensive style variations in products of comparatively uniform excellency. Meanwhile the individualism of the industry makes it impossible to deal with the problem of overproduction; and the competitive struggle tends to a continual decrease in the wages of the unorganized laborers whose labor contribution to the product is the only element in costs with which competitors can do any effective bargaining. Meanwhile the original pioneers are mostly dead or eliminated; family ownership is maintained in only one of the large units of the industry. Ownership is drifting into the hands of the banks, while idle heirs live in luxury with the proceeds of the sale of their securities to the capitalists.

In many industries private ownership has not yet resulted in an actual breakdown of the productive process. This is particularly true of American industry and is the fact which will probably maintain the present system in America long after it has been abolished or seriously modified in Europe. Yet even in America private initiative and individualism have become a distinct hindrance to an economic production in many industries and an irrelevancy, at least, in many others. Even in such commercial enterprises as the grocery business, where private enterprise seemed to be justified by the small units of commerce which seemed necessary in it, small owners have been gradually reduced to the status of employed managers with larger and larger corporations holding the consolidated properties. In the railroad business the political state interferes with and qualifies the individualism of the industry more and more rigorously. The right of ownership is qualified by restrictions on consolidations and on the rate of dividend returns and by the control of freight and passenger rates. The coal industry is, however, the real Achilles' heel of present capitalism both here and in Europe. Social control upon private enterprise, always wasteful, becomes totally ineffective in an industry where private ownership must deal with the caprices of nature. Coal mines are of very uneven character. If prices are regulated upon the basis of production costs in mines of rich resource they will bankrupt mines which tap only thin veins. If the opposite is done exorbitant profits for the wealthier mines are permitted. Meanwhile any industry which deals with a product of nature cannot escape the logic which gives

the whole of society a primary right of ownership the storehouse of nature over the claims of those who merely saw it first.

In the building industry private initiative has failed to meet the demands of society upon it, completely in Europe and increasingly so in America. It is significant that both in Europe and America, communities turn in desperation to various forms of socialized action in the face of such a bankruptcy even if the action is contrary to the still generally accepted economic prejudices and creeds of the community. For various reasons the hope of profits is no longer an adequate incentive for the building of homes. The community must therefore undertake to build the housing without profit. The achievements of a poor city like Vienna in solving the housing problem is a significant contribution to the comparative merits of private and social enterprise.

There are other fields of industry, notably in the domain of public utilities, where the inability of private enterprise to render economic service or the disappearance of competition or the uneconomic preservation of competition is driving communities into various forms of socialized economic activity even while the rank and file of the citizens maintain their traditional individualistic economic creeds. From all this it is apparent that the failure of private enterprise in the economic production of goods is the most potent cause of changes in the economic structure of society. It is difficult to impress communities with the ethical and social virtues and vices of economic organization. Failure to produce goods to satisfy the needs of the consumer is the only defect which may prove immediately fatal to an economic system.

HOWEVER, society does interest itself and is bound to interest itself increasingly in other aspects of economic enterprise. Chief among these is the manner in which an economic system distributes the benefits of its processes. It might be possible to believe that the possessive urge is so strong among men that it cannot be safely eliminated from the forces which propel industrial activity and yet not accept the present system unqualifiedly. For obviously in its present form our economic society gratifies the greed of only a comparative few and leaves the others to be prompted by quite other motives. Technologists and executives who are responsible for the present efficiency of industry may be receiving comparatively high wages but they are certainly not receiving the exorbitant returns which the owners enjoy. The profits of the owners have therefore become completely divorced from industrial and economic function and the logic of the fact must inevitably work itself out in history. Nor can the right of private ownership be justified by the ancient dogma that only through the cumulation of wealth

in the hands of a few can industry secure sufficient capital to start its functions. The fact is that most modern industries exist on capital which was produced by the industry, by profits which were "ploughed under." Many of the prosperous industries reinvested their profits in the industry without even curtailing dividend rates. The owners are therefore controlling vast capital and enjoying both the privileges and the power which inhere in it without having denied themselves anything. The capital was socially created but it is privately owned. Some smaller business units are still established upon capital accumulated by frugal individuals; but the great bulk of capital which operates modern industry is created by the high productivity of the industry rather than by the virtues of individuals. Modern economic society destroys the very dogmas upon which the nineteenth century imagined that society to rest. The idea that only a premium upon the frugality of individuals through private ownership could produce the capital necessary to finance industry is as thoroughly disproven by the actual facts as the dogma that only an appeal to the acquisitive instinct through private ownership could furnish the motive power for industrial enterprise.

The failure of modern economic society to distribute its profits with any degree of fairness is much more patent than its productive inefficiency. In America, indeed, so many of the units of a privately controlled industry are still highly efficient and stand condemned not because of inefficiency but because of social and economic injustice. While profits pile higher and higher, such bare necessities for the workers as compensation for injury, unemployment insurance and old age pensions are practically unknown in American industry except where they have been forced upon the industry by the political state. Whether any system of society will ever successfully establish absolute equality of income may well be questioned. Human nature may not be equal to such a venture, which presupposes that the quality and worth of different economic activities contain their own intrinsic rewards. It would require a high degree of imagination to accept such an idea even if it were absolutely true; and the uninteresting nature of much of the work in modern automatic industry leads one to question the truth of the idea. But it is apparent that the greatest injustices in the present system arise not from inequalities in wages and salaries but from the difference between profits of ownership and the returns for labor of brain and hand.

It is true that the great productivity of the modern machine may hide this inequality of distribution for a period because it creates so much wealth that the worker may fail to secure his just share and yet have an advantage over workers of preindustrial eras. In

England and in Europe as a whole the impoverishment of the worker in the first generation of the industrial era has given way to a gradual rise in the workers' living standards. In America the wealth of a virgin continent saved the workers from the early fate they suffered in Europe. This wealth, together with the technical achievements of American industry, has, on the whole, produced very high living standards for American workers, even though the returns of industry were distributed very unfairly. However, as industry continues to perfect its machines it arrives at a production capacity which the wants of the community cannot absorb except the buying power of the workers is greatly increased. It seems probable therefore that living standards will be seriously debased if they are not materially raised. With his present buying power the worker cannot absorb the products of his own toil. In America, which only recently absorbed millions of immigrants, there is extensive unemployment which reveals some of the characteristics of a permanent surplusage of labor. When competitive industry deals with this problem it easily aggravates it, for it meets the problem of restricted markets by lowering wages and cutting wages, thus further restricting the buying power of the public. It is difficult to see how labor, even if more perfectly organized than at present, will be able to maintain its present living standards if the job of every worker is imperiled by millions who are out of work. Private ownership under such circumstances can be saved only by becoming less private, i.e., by increased interference on the part of the political state in the regulation of hours and wages.

Society moves slowly and the inherited creeds and prejudices of mankind are modified and changed only very gradually. Not even those who suffer from the limitations of a social and economic system are easily persuaded to change it, because they are usually too ignorant to discover the basic rather than the superficial and incidental causes of their distress. This is particularly true of America, where the great wealth of the nation obscures the defects of the system more perfectly than in Europe. Nevertheless private ownership of industrial enterprises which depend upon co-operative processes and result in far-reaching social consequences is essentially anachronistic, particularly in the larger units of the enterprise and those which deal with natural resources. The question is whether society can gain sufficient social intelligence to modify the present system step by step as the need arises and as traditional methods become unworkable or whether through the stubbornness and blindness of the holders of power and privilege and through the ignorance of the masses the system will be permitted to disintegrate until change can come only through revolution and social convulsion. Social and economic systems do not change inevitably. Social and economic conditions do.

The variable factor is the degree of imagination and intelligence which society can summon for the task of making its systems fit its conditions.

ECONOMIC systems are judged chiefly by their economic fruits. Yet the economic consequences of a system have social, ethical and human implications which are of great importance. An unequal and unjust division of the returns of industry is economically significant if it fails to create the economic benefits for which it is designed; it is socially and ethically significant if it results in consequences which might justify its condemnation, even if the economic or industrial ends were attained. While in America the present industrial system has not destroyed the middle classes, while it has, in fact, made America a kind of middle class paradise, this has been due chiefly to the youth of the industry and the fabulous wealth of our continent. In Europe the extremes of great wealth and abject poverty are obvious enough and even in America a large percentage of the population lives under a fair subsistence standard. Moral and spiritual values are best maintained where excessive luxury does not tempt to excess and extreme poverty does not destroy the physical bases of a decent life. Wherever society rests upon economic foundations of dubious ethical quality the whole ethical life of the community is corrupted. This is true not only of the private morality of individuals as affected by excessive wealth and poverty but of the social and moral outlook of society as such. Everywhere in the Western world a large portion of the population which suffers most grievously from the maladjustments of the present order lives in a state of chronic cynicism, holding all higher ethical and spiritual values in contempt. A society which tries to create truth, beauty and goodness while it rests upon untrue and unjust foundations deserves to be convicted of hypocrisy and must inevitably lose the goodwill of those who are victimized by its injustices.

There can, therefore, be no health in the cultural and spiritual life of Western society as long as its present economic system is not seriously modified. It may be that these spiritual and moral considerations alone will never operate to effect the necessary changes. But among intelligent people they ought to be added to those which concern themselves more definitely with the economic process as such. If all who profess to be concerned with spiritual and moral values would really come to the rescue of these values as they are imperiled in the present system there would be more hope of changing the present order by social and political process before a sense of injury obsesses the victims of its inequalities to such a degree that evolutionary and constructive action becomes impossible. Whether the present system will succumb to violence or be gradually changed and modified by social and political action will

not be decided by those who suffer most from its limitations. The decision may seem to rest with them. But it really rests with the community in general and with the holders of privilege and power in particular. A society which is able to modify its processes and relationships to fit new situations may gradually evolve new systems out of old ones. Only if it is too stubborn or too inert to attempt such modifications will the old be destroyed for the sake of the new. It might be added that the widespread belief among radicals that a violent change is preferable because more thoroughgoing is not borne out by history. The more complex economic and social relationships become the less forceful is the logic of the revolutionists.

The Service Star

To R. H. C.

SHE saw in the window a single star
And said: "I see you've a son in the war
For the freedom of the earth.
And where is he?" The mother replied
In a voice that was taut as a bow with pride:
"He is in Fort Leavenworth."

KENNETH W. PORTER.

The Jews of the Middle Ages

Certainly the heroism of the defenders of every other creed fades into insignificance before this martyr people, who for thirteen centuries confronted all the evils that the fiercest fanaticism could devise, enduring obloquy and spoliation and the violation of the dearest ties, and the infliction of the most hideous sufferings rather than abandon their faith.—*W. E. H. Lecky*, *Rationalism in Europe*, Vol. 2, p. 270.

The Son of Man

A PRIM old lady sits holding a Bible. She finger the book, turning the pages from Isaiah to Paul. Her eyes rest on the words, "Only begotten son, 'Whosoever believeth on Him shall have eternal life.' Closing the book she mumbles to herself,

"He was, indeed, divine."

A man of forty sits on a park bench. He loves to talk and he has found a listener. His philosophy is colored red, his ideas would be termed Socialistic; but when he talks of Christ he says,

"Now, that fellow Jesus was a real man—like the time he caught those Pharisees up. Was a diplomat too. Remember that about the coin and 'to Caesar what's Caesar's and so forth? And, say, he practiced what he preached. Nobody today but knows his preaching was honest stuff. You've got to give Jesus credit. I tell you he was some thinker, that man."

And the old lady and the man walked away somewhere hand in hand, though neither knew it.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

To Preach Peace Is a Crime Unless

Pacifism, as it is commonly preached, is an-impossibly simple doctrine. It is worse than futile, it is a crime against the fundamental law of life, to preach perpetual peace, or to impose it, unless the world is capable of evolving an organization which can assure the widest and deepest changes without war.—*H. N. Salford, Olives of Endless Age, p. 123.*

The Source of Great Fortunes

Beyond all question an enormous proportion of the capital amassed between 1860 and the end of the century represented profits arising from protective tariffs, from natural resources fraudulently or surreptitiously acquired, and from water injected into industrial and railway corporations. It is a commentary on the intellectual life of the time that no scientific inquiry into complex facts so tangent to public policy was ever begun.—*Beard, Rise of American Civilization, Vol. 2, p. 200.*

The Cause of Slow Growth

As the oak tree cannot grow unless, with each new ring it adds, its old bark cracks and splits, so humanity cannot develop without the rupture of its old institutions and laws; and it has been exactly because the bulk of humanity have never of necessity been able to distinguish between this healthful disruptive process and unhealthful decay, and have sought to crush and annihilate the particles causing it, that the growth of humanity has been so slow as it has.—*Olive Schreiner, From Man to Man, p. 175.*

Our World Is Shrinking Rapidly

"What do we want with this territory?" asked Senator McPhie of South Carolina in the Senate in 1843. With the assurance of an imperious wiseman, he declared that a state as far away as Oregon could not possibly live under the government of the Union. "To talk about constructing a railroad to the western shore of this continent," he exclaimed, "manifests a wild spirit of adventure which I never expected to hear broached in the Senate of the United States."—*Beard, Rise of American Civilization, Vol. 1, p. 620.*

Without the Shedding of Blood

When men look for victory of righteousness to come without their own bitter sacrifice and the shedding of their own heart's blood, righteousness is already beaten. And whether we then wash our hands in water or ink, we are washing them in the blood of our fellow-men, wronged, down-trodden, forgotten. To dilate, in his way, desired the Kingdom. He blenched at the notion that he also must take up his cross. He no doubt regretted that he must abandon his generous defense of this strange prisoner. We likewise are full of excellent regrets. And while his enemies are driving in the nails we, His friends, busy ourselves writing a minority report, declaring that, nevertheless, He is a King. With this we adorn His Cross, while His dying-cry shakes the earth and blackens the sun.—*W. G. Peck, The Divine Revolution, p. 127.*

A Dangerous Document

In 1798 a certain agitator named Juan Picornell was accused of printing the Constitution of the United States for distribution in the Spanish Colonies.—*J. Fred Rippey, Latin America in World Politics, p. 28.*

Said Sheridan to Bismarck

The proper strategy consists in the first place in inflicting as telling blows as possible upon the enemy's army, and then causing the inhabitants so much suffering that they must long for peace, and force their government to demand it. The people must be left nothing but their eyes to weep with over the war.—*General Sheridan, when visiting Bismarck in 1870, quoted by Lasswell, Propaganda Technique in the World War, p. 83.*

Religion and Target Practice

In the sober life of the Puritan the training days offered an innocent diversion which was eagerly anticipated. Although the exercises were always preceded by prayers and the singing of psalms, the occasion was enlivened by a bountiful dinner on Boston Common. Equally enjoyable was the target practice with guns and cannon. A stuffed human form offered a realistic mark at which to shoot, and prizes were offered for the best marksmanship.—*Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The First Americans, p. 275.*

Armed Intervention Is War

Foreign intervention is *armed* or *unarmed*, although sometimes the two are not easily distinguishable. An unarmed intervention may have in it the menace of arms, or it may be war in disguise. If this is the case, it must be treated accordingly. *Armed* intervention is war and nothing less. Of course it can be vindicated only as war, and it must be resisted as war.—*Charles Sumner, in his speech before the Citizens of New York, at the Cooper Institute, Sept. 10, 1863.*

Why the Bolsheviks Hate Religion

In order to protect the crops the Russian villagers organized a religious procession around the fields, in the course of which the priest calls in a loud voice to the enemies of the people:

Worms and grasshoppers!
Mice and rats!
Ants, moles and reptiles!
Flies and horseflies and hornets!
And all flying things that wreak
Destruction. . . .

I forbid you in the name of the Savior come on earth to suffer for men. I forbid you in the name of the all-seeing cherubim and seraphim, who fly around the heavenly throne, I forbid you in the name of the angels and the millions of heavenly spirits standing in the glory of God. I forbid you to touch any tree, fruitful or unfruitful, or leaf or plant or flower. I forbid you to bring any woe upon the fields of these people!—*Albert Rhys Williams, The Russian Land, p. 97.*

Planting Peace Among the Children

SARAH N. CLEGHORN

I HAVE had a singular experience in trying to write this article. My natural inclination was to attempt to describe the kind of social spirit which I think tends to raise in the hearts of children the growth of peace. I was strongly inclined to go as far as I could into the philosophy of life that seems to me most congenial to such a spirit. In short, I wanted to write about the kind of people we shall have to be, if we try to live with children and show them what peace is like.

But I believed that what was wanted from me by THE WORLD TOMORROW was a group of concrete suggestions,—actual methods which may be adopted by teachers and parents, and which will lead toward what we all desire. I had in mind a set of such ideas, most of them ideas I have tried for several years, as a teacher and housemate of children, to practice. Accordingly I wrote such an article, and I have tried to persuade myself ever since that it was a meritorious article. But the more I tried to imagine it in the pages of THE WORLD TOMORROW, the clearer it became that it wouldn't be half as useful, actually useful, as the kind of article will be (I hope) which I have all along wanted to write.

Should anybody who reads this feel any curiosity as to what my concrete suggestions were, let me list the five of them here without further comment.

I Frequent Utopian discussions in schools and at home dinner tables, especially in relation to history and business.

II Friendly communications from our children to the children of whatever race, class or nation is temporarily the object of prejudice or suspicion.

III A stout and stubborn refusal to tolerate the infliction of punishment on children or adults,—especially marks of disgrace.

IV Consideration for all animal pain, not only for animals of the protected and favored classes, but also of those outcast animals, commonly tormented for scientific research or for sport, as guinea pigs, angleworms and fish, or for food, as lobsters "broiled alive," or for fur, or extermination as "vermin," involving the hellish steel trap, etc., etc.

V Provision in schools and homes of children's sanctuaries both of time and place, where children of these Western lands may indulge, as Eastern children habitually may do, in stillness and meditation.

I THINK these proposals are all very good. But now I am going to write about the roots of the tree that can bear such fruits. I am going to attempt a portrait of the disposition and attitude in us from

which our children cannot help drawing in the habit of universal courtesy and confidence,—such a portrait of it as Blake used to make of the faces and heads he saw in his visions; for to me this vision is also clear.

I see it quite clearly in action in the persons of a number of friends and acquaintances of my own, at different times. It seems first of all to consist in a peculiar accessibility. Some people are very accessible to those who interrupt them; with extraordinary flexibility they accommodate themselves to the most frequent invasions of their plans and time. These interruptions they treat as welcome surprises, great opportunities for the very object they have in hand,—namely, relaxing and beautifying life and filling it with amenity. Some people are peculiarly accessible to strangers; even their photographs show those who have never seen them, how easy they are to come at. When a stranger speaks to them, they do more than return a civil and obliging answer; they somehow kindle. The electrons in their consciousness of self fly out of the old orbits and form a new chemical arrangement, in which the personality of the new acquaintance has been recognized, has been somehow received, accommodated. He passes on in the flesh, but his impact remains a part of the environment of the person who has welcomed him.

If persons possessed of this accessibility respond thus to casual strangers, how much more so to those comers who bear signs of misfortune, and make an emergency appeal. The lost puppy, the deformed or humiliated man, the subject race, the forlorn hope, are not merely received and accommodated, they are gone out after, they are drawn in with loving urgency, to the lights and the fire. The sight of need charges these persons with additional power. Their current of response exceeds itself. No one needs to work upon their feelings, for their feelings are not subject to growing stiff and dry.

Persons with this spirit are open to a peculiarly delicate need in others; I mean their need for freedom. For this reason children are especially at home with them, even when, as puzzled observers remark, "they pay no attention" to them. It is so, too, with the bashful and repressed. Though these persons approach others boldly, they approach softly; they seem able to recognize in others the same flower-like capacity for being bruised that we are each aware of in ourselves. They give air, they give room, to the guests of their hearts. They leave doors and windows open. The wildnesses, the fiercenesses, the sorenesses of the spirits who mingle with them are left un-

handed; the bloom, too, of secret bliss they do not rub and crowd against.

THERE seems to be need, in mortal life, for a superabundance of spiritual force to weather certain storms which sweep along and overpower our bodies and our brains. This spirit of which I am trying to draw the portrait is provided with such superabundance of vitality. When the moral tornadoes sweep over them, they bend and rise again.

"They let the legions thunder past."

Something sustains them, a sense perhaps of the essential weakness and impermanence of the storm itself. To those whose continuing passion it is to show loving-kindness, the most unkind encounter will give sometimes only a more piquant opportunity. I have myself less than the average amount of this courage and endurance, but it seems plentiful in the world, more plentiful than one would dare to hope from casual observation. Like the prisoners in Beaumont and Fletcher's play, many persons whom I know in the flesh, and have thus known, are able to reply to the threat,

"Why, slaves, 'tis in my power to hang ye!"

"Very likely.

'Tis in our powers, then, to be hanged, and scorn it!"

In short, the strength of this spirit consists in large part of extremely agile responsiveness to what is not at all obvious. All analyses of it come back to the fundamental fact that its sense of self is not the usual straightjacket, but a loose, elastic garment flowing away from its life on all sides. This loosened, liberarian form of self-consciousness is something people don't seem to be born with.

On the contrary, it seems to be attained by many sorts of personalities, through many sorts of experience and discipline; of which religious contemplation is only one, and not necessarily the best. Many people have the power of coming out of the skintight metal container most of us live in when awake, under the magnetism of lovely aspects of nature. For this reason, they feel a passionate pleasure in being alone in woods or by waters. Walt Whitman felt this to an intense degree. From time to time, we read in a magazine some account of a sudden, startling experience of feeling, the life of a tree, or a wave, as it were from the inside of the tree's own life. Such an article, appearing a few years ago in the *Atlantic Monthly*, aroused a great deal of inquiry and corroboration. E. E. in his *Candle of Vision*, refers often to this experience. The poetry of De La Mare, and of Marjorie Wilkinsons, is full of it. Some people feel it as music, which, they say, "carries them out of themselves," gives them the sense of transport, of ecstasy. Many people have dreams, which, though unremem-

bered in form, leave such a glow and radiance behind. Perhaps those in whom I have been oftenest observing the action of this spirit are only those who have managed to follow where such intimations led them, and out of a tenuous and fragmentary apprehension, have come at length into a mood, more or less continuous, of being almost as intensely aware of other lives as they are of their own. They feel in their very bodies how

"Momentous to himself as I to me

Hath each man been that ever woman bore."

BUT how? Who knows how such a spirit can be cultivated? Is there a sure and certain method for acquiring it? I have already indicated that I think so, that for every man I believe there is such a means; only I think it may never be exactly the same for any two of us. It must be somehow by exploring within, yet being more than ever active without; by using time and money and wits more and more completely for the relief and benefit of the estate of man (and beast), and yet by insisting all the time on reposing in our own hearts on the sense of infinite leisure; by somehow combining intensity of sympathy and sweating endeavor, day in and day out, to replace unhappiness by happiness, with the serene conviction under all sympathy and struggle, that happiness, bright, earthly and heavenly happiness, is the manifest destiny of all on earth.

Such a spirit, once we feel it growing in us, need take no special thought to translate itself into language children can understand. Children, like ourselves, assimilate a great deal that they can't consciously understand, and perhaps assimilate it all the better for that reason; and the moral, that is to say, the social, difference between two children, one of whom hears his parents habitually refer to their fellow mortals as "poor fish," "cheap skates," "riff-raff," "common, ordinary people," and one who habitually hears courtesy and fellow-feeling in the language of his elders, will probably not be understood by any of the parties concerned, but only felt, felt in every encounter they make from youth to age, felt to the marrow of the bones.

This is not as good a portrait as Blake used to make of the heads and faces he saw in his visions. I am afraid it is all I am capable of putting on paper now. The inwardness of this life and character, however, is limned where we can all find it. We do know where to find the way to peace. All the international solutions are within the hearts of every woman and man who has to live among children. A mystic mole in the depths of us knows where, if we will let it burrow along the paths of its own deep instinct. No one alive is at any time without the buried impulse, the paradoxical power

"How from self the self itself to free."

Not in the Headlines

They Stay Young in Arizona

Out in Yuma, Miss Mary Elizabeth Post has taught three generations and is still on the job at the age of eighty-seven.

Wheat Goes Down

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics reports that the price of wheat is the lowest since 1924, due to a limited export demand.

Toward One Big Union of Business

Every week sees further consolidation of industrial and financial concerns. The *New York Times* recently listed 32 mergers of large corporations since January.

Pax Americana

Current History reports that there are now 302 officers and 5,318 marines in Nicaragua. Every city and village in the republic is now occupied by marines, and marine patrols are keeping the roads open and free from "bandit raids." Nicaragua will soon be safe for the marines.

Believe It or Not

Living Age reports that the Central Committee of the Young Communist organization of Moscow has issued Order Number 722 absolutely condemning all forms of kissing as an aristocratic survival unfit for "a society of class-conscious workers and peasants."

Further Consolidation

The amalgamation of daily newspapers continues to attract attention. *Editor and Publisher* points out that during the past year and a half a total of 24 morning papers and 52 evening papers have been swallowed up. There are already 937 cities in which there is only one daily, as against 414 with more than one daily.

Station WEVD Goes On

New York's radical radio station has been accorded a new lease of life. The Federal Radio Commission had ordered it off the air after September 1. But the enormous volume of protest against this ruling induced the Commission to reverse its judgment. The Debs station goes on, but it is sorely in need of a greater wave-length and better time distribution.

For More Humane Trapping

An insistent demand on the part of the public, focussed through several humane associations, has resulted in the offer, by the National Association of the Fur Industry, of an annual sum of \$150 to be distributed in first, second and third prizes to the inventors of traps which show the most progress toward a combination of practicability and humaneness. Winners are eligible to compete for a final prize of \$10,000 for a trap to displace the steel trap, which maims and causes intense suffering, but not instant death or painless captivity. The judges in these contests are naturalists known for their sympathy with the cause of conservation and humane treatment of animal life.

Rotten Boroughs Survive

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois points out in the September issue of *The Crisis* that, due to the disqualification of most Negroes in the South and many immigrants in the industrial states, a million voters elect 12 Congressmen on the Pacific Coast, 13 in the Middle West, 16 in New England, and 45 in the South.

The Visa Tyranny

According to the British labor organ, *The Daily Herald*, the State Department at Washington has refused a visa to Mark Starr, English labor organizer, who was scheduled to deliver a series of lectures at Brookwood Labor College on the history and problems of the British Labor Movement.

Casualties Among Business Men

R. G. Dun and Company report that the number of commercial failures during August was the highest of any year on record. The number of insolvencies was 1,852 and the total indebtedness was \$58,201,830. During the first eight months of the current year the number of defaults was 16,403 and the total liabilities \$339,236,869.

Prosperity in Illinois

A recent report of the Illinois Department of Labor gives the average weekly earnings in all industries of the state as \$28.80, or \$1,497.60 annually if no time is lost. In 31 of the 85 separate industries listed, average weekly earnings were less than \$25, while in 13 industries the figure was less than \$20, the lowest average being \$11.50, or \$598 annually. From these rates most workers must deduct from 10 to 30 per cent for unavoidable unemployment.

War Grows Constantly More Deadly

Articles in European papers indicate that feverish efforts are being made in several countries to develop aeroplane engines that are practically noiseless and a special quiet propeller, so that chemical air raids can be made unobserved. To aid invisibility, special paints for planes are being devised which already have advanced to the point where it is difficult to distinguish the flying plane against a background of clouds, even by the rays of powerful searchlights.

Children and Street Labor

Children engaged in street trades such as newspaper selling, bootblacking, peddling, and similar work are as much in need of protection by law as are children in industrial occupations, according to the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. A survey of children in street work in eight cities revealed children working often under very unfavorable conditions. The lack of protection afforded these children is partly due to the fact that in many States the child-labor laws are interpreted to apply only to the child who receives wages or other return from an employer. The "little merchant" is held to be outside their scope.

The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace

KIRBY PAGE

IF it had been delivered in the cuneiform characters of unearthed Nineveh, it could hardly have remained more generally unknown." In these words a writer in *The North American Review* in 1856 bewailed the existing confusion as to the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. Tilden once observed that he thought the Monroe Doctrine might be a good thing if one could only find out just what it was. Twenty-five years ago an anonymous writer in *The North American Review* expressed a doubt as to whether one per cent of the voters of this country had any accurate idea as to the meaning of Monroe's pronouncement. John Hay once coupled the Monroe Doctrine with the Golden Rule as cardinal elements in our foreign policy. Twelve years ago Albert Bushnell Hart pointed out that "its meaning and immediate cogency are still uncertain and disputed." He expressed the opinion that it is a "frame of mind." About that same time Wm. R. Shepherd referred to the doctrine as "elusive in meaning and vociferous in utterance," and then went on to say: "Neither a principle nor a law, nor even, in a strict sense, a policy, it is instead a sentiment long cherished."

One writer says that "the Monroe Doctrine is a blank check on which any sum may be written by the State Department in Washington." While Professor Hart says that "the number of doctrines since 1849 is about the same as the number of Secretaries of State." In 1920 David Jayne Hill said that the only definite and settled aspect of our foreign policy was the Monroe Doctrine—and then added, "whatever that may imply." Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt tells of a very religious Negro mother who named her two children Monroe Doctrine and Savin' Grace. It is not surprising that they acquired the nicknames Little Dicky and Say. Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy once confessed: "I believe strictly in the Monroe Doctrine, in our Constitution, and in the laws of God."

The responses which I have received during the past few weeks to a questionnaire make me believe that the ardently expressed hope of an orator at a banquet described by Philip Marshall Brown—"May the Monroe Doctrine be as liberally interpreted today as it was in the time of Washington"—has been realized. The doctrine is still being interpreted as generously as it was during the decades before its birth.

Questionnaires were sent out to about 950 citizens representing different professions and varied points of view. About 350 persons replied, of whom 301 answered the various questions. Included in the list of

those cooperating in the undertaking are 61 editors, 13 college presidents, 148 college professors, 22 bishops and clergymen, as well as scores of lawyers, social workers, officials of peace societies, financiers, manufacturers, labor leaders and other representative citizens. At least half of these persons are nationally known figures in their respective fields. About 40 states are represented in the responses.

Greek Against Greek

EQUALLY eminent authorities are arrayed against each other. A certain question is answered in one way by Philip Marshall Brown, Herbert Adams Gibbons, Alain Locke, H. L. Mencken, President Ray Lyman Wilbur and Rabbi Stephen Wise; while the opposite reply is given by Charles A. Beard, Raymond L. Buell, Sidney B. Fay, John H. Latane, Parker T. Moon and Norman Thomas.

Another question is answered in the same way by Harry Elmer Barnes, Richard Cabot, Lt. Colonel Mumm, President Ellen F. Pendleton, Stuart Queen and A. M. Schlesinger; while on the other side are E. M. Borchard, Bishop Benjamin Brewster, John Dewey, J. W. Garner, President Clarence C. Little and Bruce Williams.

The replies to one question by Wm. L. Chenery, President William Green, E. Haldeman-Julius, Raymond Turner, President Daniel Willard and Quincy Wright are contrary to the answers of Jane Addams, Wm. E. Lingelbach, H. R. Mussey, H. S. Quigley, C. H. Van Tyne and Oswald Garrison Villard.

Another line-up is Chas. M. Andrews, Wm. H. Barr, Wm. P. Merrill, D. S. Muzzey, Scott Nearing and George Haven Putnam versus Mary Austin, E. W. Burgess, President Hamilton Holt, David Starr Jordan, Ferdinand Schevill and Edward James Woodhouse.

The answers to a certain question reveal the following contrast: Ex-Governor Henry J. Allen, President Samuel Harden Church, Katharine Clayberger, Clark Howell, Pitman B. Potter and Chester H. Rowell against Roger Baldwin, Mary W. Calkins, Ernest Gruening, Clyde L. King, James H. Maurer, Frederick Y. Young.

In one case Felix Adler, Eric W. Allen, President W. H. P. Faunce, Lewis Gannett, Bishop E. L. Parsons and Graham H. Stuart are on the opposite side from Arthur Deerin Call, W. Laurence Dickey, W. J. Funk, Mrs. James Lee Laidlaw, Chas. Edward Russell and U. G. Weatherly.

Stuart Chase, O. B. Clark, A. C. Cole, W. H. Kil-

patrick, Shailer Mathews and F. F. Stephens are found on the opposite side from Louis Howland, Don Marquis, Solon De Leon, Wm. B. Munro, E. A. Ross and James I. Vance.

A final contrast is found in the following: J. Q. Dealey, Melville F. Ferguson, C. H. Haring, Florence Kelley, Ellery Sedgwick and Wm. R. Shepherd against I. J. Cox, Paul H. Douglas, C. W. Hackett, Henry Goddard Leach, Bishop St. George Tucker and William Allen White.

What did President Monroe intend to say in his Message to Congress in 1823? What was the situation to which he addressed himself? What was his primary purpose? It seems unnecessary that the answers to these questions should be clouded and obscure. There were five significant aspects to Mr. Monroe's famous pronouncement:

1. The American continents "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

2. Any effort to extend the European monarchical system "to any portion of this hemisphere" would be considered "as dangerous to our peace and safety."

3. "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere."

4. The determination of the United States not to become involved in European controversies was again proclaimed. "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do.

. . . Our policy in regard to Europe . . . is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers."

5. The policy of non-intervention by the United States in the affairs of other American countries was announced. "It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

The primary purpose of President Monroe was to safeguard the United States from the machinations of the Holy Alliance and from the encroachment of European powers, especially Russia and Spain, on our territory. The pronouncement was solely a measure of self-defense. Professor W. R. Shepherd has pointed out that throughout Monroe's message there "runs like a red thread one connecting idea and purpose: the defense of the United States against aggression from overseas. No strain of altruism is there; no trace of a desire to do more than defend what was justly ours; no thought of doing anything other than protect the national interests of the United States and them alone." It did not place upon us any obligation whatever to go to the assistance of any other American country unless we wished to do so as a

SUMMARY OF 301 REPLIES

1. Do you think the *original* Monroe Doctrine may legitimately be interpreted as prohibiting the *temporary* armed intervention by European powers in Latin America in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens?

Yes 150
No 129
Doubtful 22

2. Do you think the *original* Monroe Doctrine may legitimately be interpreted as *placing upon the United States* the obligation to protect the lives and property of European nationals in Latin America?

Yes 117
No 167
Doubtful 17

3. Do you consider it a wise policy for the United States to *prohibit* temporary armed intervention in Latin America by *European* powers?

Yes 169
No 121
Doubtful 11

4. Do you consider it a wise policy for the United States to assume *responsibility* for the protection of the lives and property of *European* nationals in Latin America?

Yes 125
No 163
Doubtful 13

5. Do you favor the continuance of the policy of *armed intervention* in Latin America by the United States in order to protect the lives and property of *our own citizens*, as, for example, in Nicaragua at the present time?

Yes 134
No 154
Doubtful 13

6. Would you regard *collective action* by the United States, Canada and the Latin American countries (including such measures as refusal to recognize a government that comes into power by violence, embargo on loans and arms to belligerents, diplomatic pressure, and in extreme cases commercial and financial pressure) as an adequate substitute for armed intervention by the United States?

Yes 226
No 56
Doubtful 19

7. Do you favor the proposal to *transform the Pan American Union* into an agency for collective action of a *political* character by the Pan American countries?

Yes 139
No 114
Doubtful 48

8. In your opinion, should the Monroe Doctrine (a) be administered *solely* by the United States; or (b) be administered *jointly* by the Pan American countries; or (c) be completely *abandoned*?

Solely 57
Jointly 192
Abandoned 30
Doubtful 22

defense measure. It did not establish protectorates over other countries on this hemisphere.

The Monroe Doctrine is now widely interpreted as prohibiting even the temporary armed intervention of European powers in Latin America in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens. This interpretation was accepted by 150 of the persons who

expressed themselves in response to my questionnaire.

European Intervention Permitted

FROM these answers one might naturally conclude that the Government of the United States in upholding the Monroe Doctrine would not only protest against any such intervention by European powers but would take steps to prevent such action. The historic facts, however, do not seem to warrant this interpretation. Perhaps there is no quicker way to summarize the evidence concerning this phase of the problem than to refer to a notable address by John W. Foster, Secretary of State under President Harrison, before the American Society of International Law in 1914. After pointing out that the primary object of the Monroe Doctrine was "to prevent the permanent occupation by European nations of any territory of the American states or the overthrow of their political institutions," Mr. Foster went on to say:

Succeeding administrations have repeatedly stated that European governments are free to make war upon the American states, or to resort to force to support their complaints, provided they observe the two conditions stated as to territory and political institutions. Several notable instances may be cited. In 1864 Spain declared war against Peru and Chile. After receiving assurances from Spain that it had no intention to reannex those republics or to subvert their political system, Secretary Seward, referring to the American states, instructed our ministers that "we concede to every nation the right to make peace or war, for such causes other than political or ambitious as it thinks right and wise." In 1860 Secretary Cass informed the French representative in Washington "that the United States did not call in question the right of France to compel the Government of Mexico, by force if necessary, to do it justice." In 1861 the Governments of Great Britain, France and Spain approached the United States with a view to securing its joint action with them in a military expedition to compel Mexico to satisfy their complaints for the murder of their subjects and destruction of their property. The United States declined to unite with them, but Secretary Seward said that the President "did not question that the sovereigns represented have undoubted right to decide for themselves the fact whether they have sustained grievances, and to resort to war against Mexico for redress, and have a right also to levy war severally or jointly." A similar attitude was assumed by the United States when in 1902 the British, German and Italian Governments sent a naval expedition to Venezuela to enforce the claims of their subjects.

Many other instances may be cited for the forcible interference of European governments with American countries to redress the complaints of their subjects. France in 1838 blockaded the ports of Mexico as an act of redress for unsatisfied demands. In 1842 and in 1844 Great Britain blockaded the ports of Nicaragua, in 1851 the whole coast of Salvador, in 1862-3 seized Brazilian vessels in Brazilian waters as acts of reprisal, and in 1895 resorted to force to bring about a settlement of certain demands against Nicaragua. In 1897 a German naval force entered Port-au-Prince and under threat to shell the public buildings forced the Haitian

Government to yield immediately to certain demands which the latter claimed were unjust and exorbitant.

Some years ago John Bassett Moore in an article in the Political Science Quarterly tabulated a list of armed interventions in Central and South America by European powers. In this article Mr. Moore said: "We have not assumed to forbid European powers to settle their quarrels with American states by the use of force any more than we have hesitated to do so ourselves."

In his annual message of 1901 President Roosevelt said:

We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power. . . . Our people intend to abide by the Monroe Doctrine and to insist upon it as the one sure means of securing the peace of the Western Hemisphere.

Let us now examine more closely the second question. A total of 117 persons expressed the opinion that the original Monroe Doctrine placed upon the United States the responsibility of protecting the lives and property of European nationals when endangered in Latin America. Many of those who replied said that this is a necessary corollary of our refusal to permit European governments to intervene.

Here again one might suppose that the historical record would reveal a consistent acknowledgment on our part of this responsibility. This, however, is far from being the case. In 1914 former Secretary Root said:

As the Monroe Doctrine neither asserts nor involves any right of control by the United States over any American nation, it imposes upon the United States no duty toward European Powers to exercise such a control. It does not call upon the United States to collect debts or coerce conduct or redress wrongs or revenge injuries.

On the same occasion former Secretary Foster said:

The other misconception as to the functions of the Monroe Doctrine, based upon the false conception that we do not permit force to be used by European governments, is that we must undertake the enforcement of their just claims against Mexico or other disorderly American republics. From the language of that doctrine as announced by President Monroe we can draw no such mandate, and the history of our relations with the American states shows that such a procedure on our part would be unjust, if not impracticable. The position of our government on this phase of the subject has been repeatedly declared. . . . It is likewise a misconception of the doctrine to assert that it is our duty to interfere by force with the administration of the affairs of other American republics, when they fall into anarchy through their oft-recurring revolutions.

The original pronouncement of Monroe has been extended at various times, especially by President Polk in the Yucatan case of 1845, by Secretary Olney in the Venezuelan crisis of 1895, and by the Senate in the Magdalena Bay case of 1912. President Polk interpreted the doctrine as prohibiting the acquisition of

further American territory by the European powers, even with the consent of the Latin American country involved. Secretary Olney maintained that the geographical situation made it "unnatural and inexpedient" for European countries to maintain control over any American territories and astonished the world, including his own countrymen, by the oft-repeated declaration: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subject to which it confines its interposition." The purpose of the Senate resolution in 1912 was to exclude Japan from control over American territory.

The Roosevelt Doctrine

IT remained for President Roosevelt, however, to make the most significant extension of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1901 he had declared: "We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of acquisition of territory by any non-American power." That is to say, coercive measures of a temporary character were not denied to European powers, nor did the United States assume responsibility for protecting European interests on these continents. But in 1904, President Roosevelt made a drastic change in policy. In his annual message of that year he said:

Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

Here we have quite a different doctrine from the one pronounced by Monroe. The idea of a protectorate is definitely accepted and responsibility is assumed for maintaining law and order by the exercise of "international police power." Succeeding presidents and secretaries of state have acted on this theory and it seems now to be firmly established as a national policy. European and Asiatic powers must not intervene, even temporarily, in Central and South America. If foreign lives and property are endangered in any of these countries, the United States feels obliged to intervene. This is the defense frequently given for our thirty armed interventions in Latin American countries since the Spanish American War. This may be or it may not be a sound policy. But it is not the Monroe Doctrine. It is the Roosevelt-Taft-Wilson-Harding-Coolidge Doctrine. "If Monroe were alive today," says Professor J. W. Garner, "he would be quite unable to recognize the policy which still bears his honored name, but which is not in fact his offspring."

Even if it be admitted that the Monroe Doctrine

neither authorizes nor obligates the United States to intervene in other American countries, the problem of protecting the lives and property of our citizens and of European nationals in Central and South America still remains. By what means shall we seek safety and justice for aliens in the Caribbean region? As to whether or not it is a wise policy for the United States to prohibit temporary armed intervention in Latin America by European powers, 169 replied in the affirmative and 121 in the negative. With regard to the question as to whether or not the United States itself should act on behalf of European nationals, the vote was 125 for and 163 against this policy.

It is an interesting and significant fact that a majority of those who replied voted against the policy of armed intervention in other countries by the United States in defense of its own citizens. The division was 154 to 134. The reason for this majority opinion is clearly indicated by the answers to the next question. They believe that a more effective way of protecting life and property is available.

More than two-thirds—226—of those who replied expressed the opinion that collective action by the United States, Canada and the Latin American countries would more adequately safeguard life and property than could be accomplished by our marines.

If the Pan-American countries had the will to act collectively, the following means seem to be available for dealing with situations in which the lives and property of aliens are endangered:

First, by united diplomatic action an effort could be made to solve any such problem. Persuasion and collective moral pressure upon any group or faction that threatens international peace would prove to be effective except in rare cases.

Second, the refusal to recognize a government that comes into power by violence would put a discount on revolution. This policy has already been adopted by our own Government and by some Latin American countries. This procedure is open to the objection that it may prevent a much-needed revolution in some countries and may only serve to keep some dictator in power. On the other hand, it seems clear that revolutions constitute a greater menace than is presented by the risk of prolonging the rule of an autocrat.

Third, an embargo on arms would reduce the probability of violence. It is a notorious fact that the opposing sides in the recent civil war in Nicaragua secured arms from two different countries. If the various Pan-American countries would scrupulously refrain from assisting either side in an internal controversy of another nation, there would be much less fighting.

Fourth, the same thing may be said of loans to beligerent groups. There would be fewer battles and less loss of life and property if the opposing factions were

able to secure funds from abroad. An embargo on loans for belligerent purposes would prove to be an effective instrument of pacification.

Fifth, in extreme cases, it might prove necessary for the various Pan-American countries to exert united economic pressure upon any recalcitrant government. This pressure could be exerted in such a way as to avoid starvation and yet produce the desired results.

The Function of the Pan-American Union

EFFECTIVE action of a collective character by the various countries of this hemisphere would seem to require a permanent institution through which to function. Should the Pan-American Union be this organization? Should it be transformed into a body that would have political functions as well as educational and scientific responsibilities? On this question the affirmative vote was 139 and the negative 114.

There are three primary objections to this procedure: it might destroy the beneficent work already being done by the Union; it might prove to be inadequate and ineffective; it might transform the Union into a rival of the League of Nations.

There are many, however, who believe that it would be wise to transform the Pan-American Union into a kind of League of Nations for this hemisphere, with the following responsibilities: First, the assembling of regular conferences to consider various questions of common concern, including health, communication, transportation, cultural interests, economic problems, and political questions that affect international peace and friendship. It would be necessary, of course, to have the decisions of these conferences ratified by the respective governments before they become operative.

Second, the Pan-American Union might become an international civil service and administer the agreements reached in the various conferences previously referred to.

Third, the Pan-American Union might act as a clearing-house in emergencies. If a crisis arises, say in Nicaragua or Honduras, and lives and property are endangered, instead of rushing our marines to the scene, the officials of the Pan-American Union would set in motion collective, non-military measures.

Should the Monroe Doctrine be administered solely by the United States or jointly with the Latin American countries or abandoned entirely? Only 30 persons voted for its abandonment and only 57 for its exclusive administration by the United States. The great majority—192 persons—favored collective responsibility for its maintenance.

The reasons for taking the latter position seem to be as follows: First, many Latin Americans keenly resent our self-appointed guardianship. At least four out of five of these countries have reached a high de-

gree of stability and civilization and have no need whatever for our supervision. "From the Latin-American point of view," says Hiram Bingham, "the continuance of the Monroe Doctrine is insulting." Second, the situation has changed drastically since the original pronouncement was made and there is little likelihood of European aggression on this hemisphere. Third, the fact that most of these countries are members of the League of Nations and of the Permanent Court of International Justice seems to them to reduce the need for our protecting arm.

Fourth, the idea is widely prevalent among our southern neighbors that the Monroe Doctrine, as it is now being interpreted, is a smoke screen behind which the United States seeks to hide its aggressive economic designs on other American countries. "The Doctrine of Monroe," says a Latin American editor, "is the shield and buckler of the United States aggression; it is a sword suspended by a hair over the Latin continent." Senator Borah has pointed out that if the doctrine is loosely interpreted "it becomes a dagger and not a shield" to Latin Americans. Professor C. H. Haring has recently called attention to the fact that "against the United States itself the Doctrine affords no protection, but may even serve as a camouflage of American encroachments upon their independence." An anonymous writer in *Foreign Affairs* says that "an overlordship on the part of their great northern sister is today infinitely more feared by the Latin republics than is any danger from European imperialism." Professor A. L. P. Dennis says: "Indeed, the many sins which have been laid at the door of the Monroe Doctrine are such as to fill a student of history with regret."

Fifth, there seems to be some evidence that certain Latin American governments are made more reckless in their financial dealings with European investors by the assumption that the United States will protect them from European reprisals. The following words were written fifteen years ago, but they are even more significant today: "The maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine (in its current interpretation) is going to cost the United States an immense amount of trouble, money, and men." Sixth, arbitrary armed intervention on our part sets a bad example for other powers and inhibits us from an effective protest against the imperialistic excesses of other nations. Seventh, collective responsibility by Pan-American countries for resisting European or Asiatic aggression would at the same time increase Latin American prestige and serve as a check to the arbitrary extension of the political and economic power of the United States. Therefore, it seems probable that collective responsibility for preserving the freedom and integrity of American countries would increase international understanding and friendship.

What Can We Do?

WHY discuss the *original* Monroe Doctrine? A recent writer says that such a discussion has academic interest only. What counts is the present interpretation of the doctrine. In a moving world a doctrine must adjust itself to changes in situations. It is undoubtedly true that national policies must be changed from generation to generation. But to call a new policy by an old name may prove to be a dangerous procedure. Certain words and phrases become highly explosive. They become charged with intense emotion and inhibit clear thinking and rational conduct. "National honor" and "vital interest" are such phrases. Most citizens can quickly be whipped into a frenzy of fury if assured by their officials or by the press that "national honor" has been impugned or that some "vital interest" has been jeopardized. They may have only a hazy notion what the controversy is about but they would readily fight in defense of the idea connoted by these phrases. Until recently governments excluded questions affecting national honor and vital interest from the scope of arbitration treaties, which fact largely nullified the value of such treaties, because in a crisis almost every serious dispute would be regarded as involving either honor or interest. Fortunately these exclusions have been abandoned in our most recent arbitration treaties.

The phrase "Monroe Doctrine" is another explosive expression. It can easily be demonstrated that most citizens of the United States have only a vague notion as to its real meaning. Yet it has become a national idol, a fetish, a shibboleth, "no more to be questioned than a fundamental dogma of the church." The phrase is charged with patriotic emotion. If a responsible official of our government should maintain that the Monroe Doctrine was being violated by a non-American nation, he would instantly be assured of the passionate support of his countrymen, no matter what the nature of the controversy and quite regardless of the merits of our position. That is to say, as long as the present state of the public mind prevails, it will be almost impossible to secure clear thinking and judicious action when the national emotions attached to the Monroe Doctrine are released.

Four decades ago a writer in *The Forum* said that the current interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine frequently left the citizens of this country "inebriated with superabundant patriotism." Fourteen years ago Leo S. Rowe, now Director of the Pan-American Union, pointed out that "the words 'Monroe Doctrine' have cast a kind of spell over the American people" and that this fact "has precluded and still precludes a calm, dispassionate consideration of our international relations." In speaking of the popular attitude during the Venezuelan crisis, Hiram Bingham says: "It raised

our patriotism to the highest pitch when we realized that we were willing to go to war with the most powerful nation in Europe rather than see her refuse to arbitrate." This same writer also says: "Old ideas, proverbs, catchwords, national shibboleths, die hard."

It would seem, therefore, that, far from being of merely academic interest, a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine is of the utmost practical importance. Four measures are urgently required.

First, there should be a nation-wide educational campaign concerning the Monroe Doctrine. Its original intent should be clearly differentiated from many current interpretations. By this means it is possible greatly to reduce its emotional explosiveness. "While retaining the Doctrine," said Secretary Hughes, "we should make every effort to avoid its being misunderstood. If its import has been obscure, it is largely because it has often been treated as though it were our sole policy in this hemisphere. . . . Attempts to stretch the Doctrine have made it in some quarters a mystery and in others a cause of offense."

Second, an effort should be made to induce governmental officials and other leaders of public opinion to use the words "Monroe Doctrine" in an accurate sense—that is, when reference is made to excluding European nations from further colonization or the extension of the monarchical system on this hemisphere—and to use other expressions, say the Roosevelt Doctrine or the Coolidge Doctrine, to connote new policies, as, for example, the exercise of a so-called "police power" in the Caribbean, which were not contemplated by President Monroe.

Third, the United States should share responsibility for safeguarding, by peaceable means, the territorial and political integrity of the nations on this hemisphere with Canada and the Latin American countries.

Fourth, the doctrine of arbitrary armed intervention by the United States in the Caribbean should be abandoned and in its place should be substituted the Pan-American Doctrine, under which our government would cooperate with other Pan-American countries in strengthening pacific means of maintaining security, perhaps by the gradual transformation of the Pan-American Union, or, if this seems unwise, by creating new Pan-American agencies of justice.

The Monroe Doctrine has in the past undoubtedly helped to maintain peace in this hemisphere. The prevailing tendency to use the phrase as a justification for every new procedure we see fit to adopt in the Caribbean, however, is fraught with great peril to international peace and friendship. The Monroe Doctrine should be retained in its original form and supplemented by a new Pan-American Doctrine.¹

¹ This article has been reprinted in a more extended form as a pamphlet, including a complete list of the 301 persons who filled out the questionnaire, and may be secured at the rate of 10 cents each, 75 cents per dozen, \$6.00 per hundred postpaid from the author at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Clippings

Ditto the U. S. A.

We were led away by militarist folly to be a conscript nation and it will take us all we know to recover from it.—*Lord Fisher of England, quoted in Current History, September, 1928.*

S. A. R. Bars Negroes

I was once, myself, a member of the Massachusetts Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution through my Negro great-grandfather, who fought in the Revolution. I was compelled to resign when the headquarters at Washington found out that I was of Negro descent.—*W. E. B. Du Bois, The Crisis, Sept., 1928, p. 304.*

The Methods of Successful Business

I can understand why a business man would admire Mussolini and his methods. They are essentially those of successful business. Executive action; deeds, not words. Executive action, not conferences and talk. Mistakes, yes, but action. A bit of the Jesuitical, the end justifies the means. A supreme contempt for red tape. Soviet control of factory, anathema. Material progress must precede spiritual, artistic, and intellectual.—*Editorial, Nation's Business, December, 1927.*

Morals Worse Than Vices

I have never been frightened of what might be termed the conscious American imperialism that the lords of Wall Street are supposed to be carefully nursing. Most of such talk is fantastic piffle. But I am terrified by the missionary fanaticism that sleeps in the heart of the American people. They will never, I am convinced, try to gain the lordship of the world in a conscious effort for spoils and domination. But they are just now developing a very helpful and sane form of economic control by establishing financial liens in all countries, which will make them silent partners in the business of the world. The only American danger I really foresee is not the wickedness or the greed of the American business men; I fear their morals more than their vices.—*Moritz J. Bonn, The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1928, p. 308.*

Private Peat on Warring Christians

I find no wrong in the teachings of Jesus Christ nor in the general Christian philosophy. I do not believe the men with similar experiences to mine are doubtful of a God or of the practicability of the message of Christ. But I doubt with all my heart the faith of Christians in general and their international sincerity when it comes to a choice between breaking the commandments of God and of one's nation. . . . If in 1914 there had been a great international protest by the Christian religions of the world against war . . . even if they had failed in the attempt to stop the holocaust . . . they at least would have won the respect and admiration of all mankind. Instead of doubt and 'show me' being the present world attitude, today there would be sweeping over the earth the greatest Christian renaissance of all time.—*"Private Peat," in The Christian Century, April 26, 1928.*

The Military Mind

We ask only one thing of our representatives when they go to Paris. That is that they keep their hands on their pockets and see that their clothes are kept continuously buttoned. We have lost our shirt before as a result of international negotiations.—*The Army and Navy Journal, July 21, 1928, p. 932.*

Let Us Hope So

The Kellogg anti-war treaty, if it means anything, means the death of the Monroe Doctrine, and was so understood by its real author, Senator Borah, says the *Journal de Geneve* today. "The doctrine is no longer justified, for if the independence of the American continents is still threatened, it is only so threatened by the United States itself."—*New York World, August 8, 1928.*

Why Russia Arms

Let us once and for all realize one thing: every single Russian today believes in the inevitableness of war between Russia and the West within the next five years. Theoretically, every Marxian will believe that such a war must come; practically every Russian is assured, almost monthly, by some new diplomatic incident, some new insult to, or murder of, a Russian diplomat, or by some actual new breach of relations, that it is coming.—*John Strachey, The New Leader (British), March 23, 1928.*

May Other Nations Follow Suit

Postponement by the British Government of the award for the Singapore naval dockyard may be merely routine or temporary. But informed technical circles declare it is done pending the signature of the Kellogg anti-war compact, the meetings of the League Council and Assembly, and the session of the Preparatory Disarmament and Security Committees at Geneva. The implication is that if arms reduction by general international agreement comes within sight Great Britain may modify or abandon her project, estimates of the cost of which run from \$50,000.00 to thrice that sum.—*New York World, August 11, 1928.*

Four Millions in High School

In 1880 there were enrolled in the public high school but 110,000 boys and girls. By 1900 this number had increased to 519,000; by 1910, to 915,000; by 1920, to 2,199,000; by 1925, to 3,650,000; and by the close of 1927, to probably 4,000,000. In addition there was of course the private secondary school enrollment, which in 1927 must have been considerably in excess of a quarter of a million. But the major point to be observed is that for more than a generation each annual report of the growth of the secondary school population has shown, not only an absolute increase in numbers, but an increase in the rate of growth. Moreover, in the year 1927 close to one-half of the nation's children of appropriate age were enrolled in the high school.—*George S. Counts, The American Journal of Sociology, July, 1928, p. 179.*

How Race Prejudice Is Overcome

GEORGE L. COLLINS

A STRIKING development of the past several years in the field of race relations has been the increasing fellowship between white and colored college students in the Southern states. This has been manifested in inter-racial groups established in various cities, in the several joint state conferences, in the custom of having fraternal delegates at summer student conferences, and in the increased common planning of Christian work in the colleges.

In many cases the prevalent attitude of the white toward the Negro, of indifference, hostility, or kindly condescension, has been replaced by friendship and cooperation on a basis of equality. There are those among the older generation who sincerely disapprove of such fellowship, but this newer understanding means so much to those who are sharing it that opposition is not likely seriously to shake them. The words of a Texas girl give voice to convictions frequently expressed, "In being rid of one's race prejudice—however limited it may have been—one truly begins to enter into the fulness of life. It gives one a feeling of freedom and exultation comparable to that a marathon runner might experience as he found himself suddenly rid of a heavy voluminous cloak and dragging chains. But it goes beyond that, too, because shackles of mind and spirit are far more ruinous than those of the body, and the blossoming of life within oneself when rid of them is commensurately greater."

How has an influential body of white Southern students come to oppose the idea of caste which is dominant in the South and close to the surface in the North? Interested in the answer to this question the writer prepared a brief questionnaire and sent it to several score of Southern white acquaintances who he had reason to believe had made such a change in their thinking. From the fifty replies received one may draw certain conclusions as to the experiences that are resolving race prejudice.

But what is meant by being free from prejudice? What is the general point of view of such a person? The following six statements were presented to get the answer to that query.

1. "Every individual should have the opportunity to go into any trade, business, or profession with regard only to the qualifications of character and intellect; e.g., it ought to be possible for a white person to teach in a Negro college under a Negro administration, or a colored person to teach in any school or college, preach in any church, work in any bank or business house."

Answers: Yes, 44; No, 3; Doubtful, 3.

2. "Enforced segregation of all kinds is wrong—housing, transportation, education, places of amusement."

Answers: Yes, 38; No, 8; Doubtful, 4.

3. "One should select friends without regard to race."

Answers: Yes, 49; No, 0; Doubtful, 1.

4. "White people should extend to colored people all the courtesies they expect to receive for themselves; e.g., the terms Mr., Mrs., Miss, etc."

Answers: Yes, 48; No, 2; Doubtful, 0.

5. "Intermarriage is a matter for the individual to settle for himself."

Answers: Yes, 40; No, 5; Doubtful, 5.

6. "Intermarriage is a possibility to be contemplated without fear."

Answers: Yes, 28; No, 14; Doubtful, 8.

It is perhaps fair to conclude from the above answers that most of the individuals returning questionnaires could be called unprejudiced. It is also obvious that in most if not all cases, there has been a marked change from the attitudes previously held because the common run of opinion in the North and South alike would be contrary to the views expressed.

To arrive at the reasons for such a shift in point of view, 38 items were listed with instructions to underline those that the individual felt were important in the overcoming of his prejudice.

Following is the list in the order of importance as marked and including several additional items added in returned questionnaires:

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Number of Times Underlined</i>
Christian association summer conferences.....	34
Christian association secretaries.....	29
Negro students	29
Visiting speakers	28
Christian association discussion groups.....	24
White friends	23
Negro poetry	22
Negro professional people.....	22
Injustice witnessed	20
Negro novels	18
Personal Bible study	18
Foreign students	16
College faculty	15
Negro journals	14
College courses	12
Prayer	12
Travel	11
Other Negroes (in addition to Negro servants, professional people and students).....	11

Negro servants	11
Christian association meetings.....	11
Student Volunteer meetings.....	10
Other White books (in addition to novels and poetry).....	8
Other Negro books (in addition to novels and poetry).....	8
White journals	6
Text books	6
Sermons	5
Teachers	4
Young People's Society meetings.....	4
White poetry	4
Members of Family.....	3
One's own thinking	3
Church conferences	2
Visits to Negro colleges	2
Chapel exercises	2
Student friendship fund.....	1
Minister	1
White novels	1
Elementary school	0
High school	0
Sunday school class	0
Revival meetings	0

THE influence of the student Christian associations in promulgating a more thoroughgoing type of Christianity is instantly evident in the above list. And that influence is even larger than appears because the contacts with Negro students, the visiting speakers and the Negro literature are additional influences for which the associations are largely responsible. The importance of personal contact with colored people of about the same training and outlook can hardly be overestimated, because most white people still think of Negroes in terms of the wash-woman, the servant or the laborer.

The connection between vital religion and social pioneering is realized when one reflects that practically all the leadership in inter-racial student activity in the South comes from those who are active in Christian organizations. Either the liberal without religious affiliation is absent from the scene or he does not dare to risk social disapproval. But the organized church can take little comfort from these conclusions. As an institution it seems to have directly influenced the recipients of the questionnaire very slightly. The work of the ministry, the services of the church, the Sunday School, and the Young People's Society were seldom if at all referred to by those returning questionnaires. It is the old story that has occurred so often through the ages, of pioneering to which the church has been indifferent or which it has even opposed, but for which it has been fundamentally responsible because of the gospel which it has taught and half believed.

The books that were referred to most frequently were two novels by Negro writers, *The Fire in the Flint*, by Walter White, and *There is Confusion*, by

Jessie Fauset. Other books noted more than once were, *The New Negro*, edited by Alain Locke, *The Book of American Negro Poetry*, edited by James Weldon Johnson, *Color*, by Countee Cullen, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, by Oldham, *Souls of Black Folk*, by Du Bois, *Up from Slavery*, by Booker T. Washington, and Dunbar's poetry.

The magazines that were mentioned included the two Negro journals, *Opportunity* and *The Crisis*, *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, *The Christian Century*, *The Intercollegian*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, the *Century*, the *Nation* and the *New Republic*.

In response to the question "How are you acting differently in speech, daily contacts, life work plans, etc., because of changed attitude?" the following replies were received:

1. Now accept Negroes as I do white people. *N. C.

2. I have come to have many personal friends among members of the colored race and I have as much respect for them as for white friends. Tex.

3. Elimination of nicknames such as "nigger" etc.—regarding all people as human and as equals with potentialities, regardless of color. Life work plans affected in numerous ways, too lengthy for discussion here. N. C.

4. Reverence for age and older women same in all races now. Treat them all with same amount of courtesy. Am willing to meet and make friends with and visit homes of other races. New understanding of Jesus' standards. Tex.

5. I am acting differently in speech, daily contacts, life work plans, etc., because of changed attitudes and of course this has affected my whole life. S. C.

6. I have more interest in reading that which will show me the truth about race. Tex.

7. Always champion the Negro in discussions. Instrumental in getting quarterly union meetings of white and colored ministers. Visit in Negro homes. Negroes visit my home. Negroes sing in my church. Talk in Negro colleges frequently. Pay and treat Negro servants above usual standards. Ill.

8. I speak kindly and courteously to Negroes as well as foreigners. I greatly resent injustices that are forced on them because they are not white people. I am interested in the race problem. I want to see justice administered to all. Miss.

9. I am hardly conscious of difference of color and in my daily contacts make no distinctions because of color. My desire in all things is to be able to forget color lines. To preach Jesus in some way or other has long been my desire and my knowledge of racial conditions has strengthened this desire. Md.

10. More careful of speech; protest at unjust comments and names; use Mr., Mrs., and Miss; am member of Inter-racial Commission. Korea.

11. Am trying to get others to change their attitudes. Am trying to do something to help them. I am now teaching a Bible class Monday evenings at a Community

* The letters following the statements give the state in which the individual was born.

House for Negroes. Am studying the Negro, seeking contacts, etc., as never before. Have said, "I would be willing to give my life to work with Negroes." Tex.

12. A group of us who were interested in expressing our new attitudes in concrete ways decided to organize and supervise the work of a Negro girls' club in the local high school. This we did. Every two weeks we meet with the advisers of the club to discuss club programs. (This club has about 200 members and is similar to the Girl Reserves. We have recently heard of another like it at Grenada, Miss.) To these meetings we invite other students in order that they may meet Negro professional people. We call each other "Mrs., Mr., Miss," etc., and are becoming less and less conscious of the difference in color. Furthermore, there is a marked difference in the way I greet servants. This they quickly sense and appreciate. I helped two Negro maids get library books and last year I helped one with her lessons. I use many opportunities (but not all I could) to change the attitudes of my friends and family by giving them facts concerning injustices and the progress of the Negro race. Also in telling stories to children and in making talks to Young People's Societies I try to overcome prejudice. At conferences I attend those discussions which are on race. The books I read I try to send to others in order that their attitudes may be changed. (I do not do this enough.) Miss.

13. I cannot bear the term "nigger." I have become acquainted with some fine Negroes that I should have never known had it not been for my changed attitude. I see examples every day of the way Negroes are made to feel their inferiority (so called) and I hear people constantly "throw off" on Negroes behind their backs. I still have some prejudice myself, but I believe I can gradually rid myself of it (in time). N. C.

14. I try in every way to act as if I did not see the color of a person. It has a peculiar influence on me; e.g., I now always remove my hat in an elevator for fear when a white woman comes in I should seem to show her more deference than a colored woman. I am more polite than I used to be to all people. Minn.

15. Am cultivating what contacts I have with Negroes. Do not say "nigger" (try not to). Emphasize questions of race relations in teaching sociology. But still I feel that I'm not thoroughly free of actions, habits, or behavior that grow out of the universal prejudice against the Negro. Social pressure runs in the opposite direction. Tex.

16. I think I would have had difficulty rooming with a Negro until a few years ago. I do not now. My social contacts with Negroes are easier since knowing them in a relationship other than servant. I no longer accept generalities—nor make them—about the characteristics of Negroes. Ga.

17. I often speak of races in ways different from those of my friends. Without me people of the other races would seldom be mentioned. I have been on the verge of social ostracism because of my views. I have resolved to give my life to "freeing personalities" to a large extent by trying to replace prejudice with friendship. Ga.

18. Use Negro—not nigger, think Negro not nigger. Tex.

19. In speech and in daily contact I try at all times to help eliminate race prejudice and to promote a better understanding between the races. Try to understand the attitudes of Negroes and the reasons they re-act to certain situations in special ways. Va.

20. Very rarely, now, do I feel "funny" when I sit down beside a colored person. I have come to regard Negroes as persons. Ga.

21. I can notice a change in my attitude toward the Negro. I have a greater respect for the Negro and want to see the Negro race given all possible advantages. I respect much more highly the personality of a Negro. Miss.

22. I find myself taking the result of my changed attitude toward racial differences into my writings, my conversation. I talk about racial cooperation—brotherhood—I wonder about the outcome of our effort toward reconstruction in thinking about this problem; hope for less prejudice, and more people who will face the situation (especially that of the Negro, here) willingly, sanely, hopefully. N. C.

23. I am as courteous to those of other races as I would wish them to be to me; I look upon them as human beings with as much right to have a full life as I have; they are my friends. Ark.

24. I try to look upon all men as brothers, to whom I am responsible above self-aggrandizement. Tex.

25. Don't use nicknames and resent others doing so. Uphold their equality whenever the opportunity presents itself in any kind of conversation, teaching, etc., otherwise, just drifting along. Tex.

26. The Negro in my eye is my equal, everything else being equal. I think less now of the Negro as a separate class from the white man and more of different classes in all races. Instead of working for him, I have a desire to work with him. I desire to be able to sit by my Negro student friend in the southern white street car, rather than by the low Nordic washerwoman. Md.

27. I pursue the course which I consider right in the matter of race relations regardless of what my friends may say. Tex.

28. Rather a hard question to answer.—I think the whole answer may be summed up in the attempt that I am making to really practice the Golden Rule—Giving everything to others that I can expect from others without regard to race barriers. Tenn.

29. I am color blind now. Would like to see the colleges opened to all races. Ga.

30. I speak to Negroes politely. I intend to promote Negro education and opportunities for worthy Negroes. I do not get peeved when I see a Negro riding in his own car. Ala.

31. Attitudes changed mostly about four years ago. Interracial work and effort to get other white young people to change attitudes. Mich.

32. Try to make more contacts with persons of other races and other occupations; refer to other races more as persons than as classes; can't be pleased with working to make money for myself. Tenn.

33. Very much more lenient in judgment of others. More thoughtful and more thorough in discussions on these subjects. Kindlier to Negroes and foreigners in daily contacts—considerate of them as human beings. N. C.

34. I have always been friendly toward the Negro and a gentleman in his presence. My contacts with him are few outside the Atlanta Interracial Forum. I do not fail when opportunity presents itself in discussion group, or talks with friends to present my views sympathetically and purposefully. Ga.

How the Turks View American Schools

LEE VROOMAN

IT is somewhat surprising to many to learn that three American teachers in Broussa, Turkey, in 1928 were given the bizarre sentence of three days confinement and a dollar and a half fine each, because a few girls in their school had been reading the New Testament and were interested in the principles of Jesus. This does not seem to square with the fact that the Turkish constitution is now being altered, the statement that Islam is the state religion being struck out. More inconsistent still, at the same time the sentence was passed, steps were being taken to adopt the European form of Arabic numerals, and, more revolutionary, the Latin alphabet in place of the Arabic.

This seemingly medieval intolerance in a state engaged in westernizing herself in one decade makes it worth while to study the Turkish mind to see why public opinion was so excited by the alleged conversions. For without a doubt public opinion was stirred up, and the daily press gave much publicity to the affair. There were also many unfavorable editorials on the other American schools. It is easy to compare this excitement with the complete indifference with which we view Moslem activities in Chicago, or the equal English indifference toward the activities of the mosque in Woking. Such a condemnatory comparison would be unfair, however, when we realize the misunderstandings that lie behind the Turkish view point.

In article after article in the Turkish press one saw the fear that Turkish youth would be Americanized in these schools. The fear was frankly expressed that the better classes were not enthusiastic about nationalism anyway, so that there was a danger that the nationalist revolution might not succeed.

Much was made of the word culture—*hars*. The press sees the future leaders of the country coming from foreign schools, which get the children of the best families, and feels that their graduates will not be interested at all in Turkish life. Then they envisage the fall of the whole nationalist movement. Now as a matter of fact this fear is ill founded, as the American educationalists in Turkey are keenly interested in Turkish culture for their students. The American schools have works in English and French on Turkish art, literature, and history, not available in the Turkish language. Every day every student studies one or two periods under Turkish teachers. Students in American schools know Turkish culture as well as those in public schools. And finally, when one knows these students, he finds them, though not chauvinists, yet very loyal and patriotic Turks, so that the fears of the

press are groundless. The fear does exist, however, and is easily understood.

AGAIN, it is hard for us to see how interest in Jesus who lived in Palestine will make one any poorer a Turk than an interest in Mohammed who lived in Mecca. We see Mr. Rosenwald, a Jew, give largely to the Y. M. C. A., and Mr. Rockefeller, a Protestant, give generously to Jewish benevolences, and we feel both are better Americans for it. With the Turk, however, in the past, for an Armenian, a Bulgarian, a Serb or a Greek to become a Moslem was automatically also to become a Turk. And to become a Moslem was a very simple process, merely the repetition of an Arabic formula. So building on their own practice, they suppose if one is interested in Jesus, one automatically becomes an American. In spite of this attitude I do not believe the Turk is fanatical. If a group of students saw fit to study Buddha or Confucius, I doubt if any objection would be raised. This would be, of course, because historically there have not been long centuries of bloody warfare between Buddhist and Turk; and so there is not the inborn hatred of things Buddhist. But from the very beginning the Cross and the Crescent have fought, so that there is a deep seated feeling that an interest in Jesus implies the traitor.

We should not forget that the old, conservative, pious Moslem even yet is probably in the majority in Turkey. He plays a large part in public opinion, and though he may not care much about Buddha and Confucius, still he has a jumpy feeling at anything Christian.

At the other extreme are those modernists who are opposed to all religion, since they have seen the Moslem and Orthodox Churches oppose all progress in their respective nations for centuries. These men have closed all mosque schools, banished the dervish orders, abolished the Caliphate. They feel that to be consistent they must keep out all foreign religions. They have even eliminated Allah from the new Turkish Koran and substituted the old pagan Turkish god Tanri in his place. They see little of value in either Christianity or Islam, but would build up a Turkish religion. Many of this group are those who fear the loss of Turkish culture in foreign schools.

With all this emotional background and misunderstanding, it is easy to see why, in spite of constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, these three American teachers were given an imprisonment sentence and a

fine. Nonetheless, the children of the best families continue to crowd the American schools. We may be sure that when the Turks know the American schools better, incidents like the Broussa affair will not happen. Turkey aims to be tolerant and modern, and step by step she is realizing her aim.

An Orchard Notion

THESE mountain evenings, when the fall comes on,
Full of these winds and colors after dusk,
This searching air, so rich with icy dew,
And such a height of clear and lighted space
Between the hill horizons and the sky,
Make your brimmed senses and your heart swell over
With expectation of the Northern Lights;
And it was on an evening such as this,
About a year ago, the end of summer,
I came out in the orchard after tea.

The lamp was lighted, and the door was open,—
The kitchen lamp and door. The kitchen clock,
Perched on the wall, with glass and pendulum,
Suddenly looked, from fifty paces off,
No bigger than a doll's clock from a toystore;
And somehow, time turned childish with the clock,—
Our little time, a thing for playing with!
The shelf below it, with the dangling spoons
And sifters, hung there like a doll's-house outfit
Above the tiny table; they were all
Things for a play life, left among the fields
Between real things like trees and sky-topped hillsides.
Such a child's thought, such an enchanting play,
Life in our little houses, little townships!
We must have turned to midgets to live in them!
Alice in Wonderlands, who grow too tall
When we go out in orchards after tea;
We can't get in again until we say
"Sesame, open!" and slip through the keyhole.

SARAH N. CLEGHORN.

Grounds for Pacifism

The following statement is one of a series we are reprinting from a symposium issued in England by the No More War Movement, giving reasons for faith in that movement's drastic opposition to war.

Well, war is invariably the greater and worse of any two evils, so have nothing to do with it! There is no point in saying "War is wrong; war is anti-Christian; war is hell," if at the same time you are prepared to support or take part in the next war when it comes along.—DR. ALFRED SALTER, M.P., D.P.H.

War

ALFRED POLGAR

A BALKAN soldier and a Turkish sentry have approached close enough to carry on a conversation.

Balkan soldier. How many children have you?
Turk. Before the war I had two. But you massacred them.

Balkan soldier. Why are you so pig-headed? We might have had peace long ago.

Turk. It isn't my fault that there is no peace.

B. S. Well, thank God, the diplomatic conference is meeting now in London. . . .

T. What's that, a diplomatic conference?

B. S. That is, when diplomats get together and discuss what shall be done.

T. What are diplomats?

B. S. Diplomats? Those are men who are unfit to be soldiers or useless for any other manly task, and who are therefore employed to see to order.

T. We call them eunuchs. . . . In London, you say—where is that?

B. S. Man, but you are ignorant. It's high time that we drive some culture into you. Then at least your children will know something.

T. Not mine. You massacred them.

B. S. (evading). So it's in London that the diplomats are meeting to bring about peace.

T. And how do they do that?

B. S. Why that's very simple. Our diplomats draft a note and send it to the Great Powers. The Great Powers draft a note and send it to your diplomats. Then your diplomats send back a note to the Great Powers and they in turn send a note to us. Meanwhile our diplomats have not been idle either, but have drafted a note and sent it to your diplomats. They answer this with a note which we, of course, send to the Great Powers, so that they may send a note to your diplomats. And that continues back and forth so long till one party stops sending notes, because it does not know what to answer. Then there is peace.

T. That may take a long time. Why don't we simply turn about and go home, everyone to his hearth? Then there will be peace at once.

B. S. You speak as one who has no idea about the Great Powers and Europe and International Law and Politics. . . . We simply must pound some civilization into Macedonia, or there will never be any peace.

T. What is that, "civilization"?

B. S. You don't know that? Why every child knows that!

I can't ask mine. You massacred them.
 B. S. Civilization is, when the tramway passes, . . . and like that.
 T. Are you much concerned that Macedonia should have tramways?
 B. S. Personally not. . . . But I beg you to tell no one. I should have to blush forever before the Great Powers if they should hear that I am not concerned about Macedonian civilization. And you? I suppose you'd sooner be tortured to death than give up any of the Aegean Islands?
 T. I'd throw in my amber pipe and my new fez if I could only go home.
 An officer (dashing out of the Turkish camp cries) Peace! Peace! Yesterday the Great Council in Constantinople gave up Adrianople!
 Other soldiers come running. They cry: Long live Peace! Down with War! Long live Kemal Pasha!
 The Officer. That's right. You are real patriots. Long live Kemal pasha! (The officer and the soldiers return to the camp.)
 B. S. My brother!
 T. Friend!
 B. S. But now I get the amber pipe and the new fez, which you wanted to give up for peace.
 T. And all the Aegean Islands you want.
 They embrace.
 The Officer (comes running out of the Turk camp and cries). War! War! The treacherous government has been overthrown. War!
 Other soldiers (come running and cry). Long live War! Down with the Peace! Long live Kemal Pasha!
 The Officer. That's right. You are real patriots! (The officer and the soldiers return to the camp.)
 T. (sad). Now we're enemies again.
 B. S. All on account of Adrianople! You pig-headed fools! (They are relieved and return to their camps.)
 The next day they are again on sentry duty.
 B. S. What day is today?
 T. Monday. Why do you ask?
 B. S. Oh, I merely inquired. What time is it?
 T. Two minutes lacking of seven.
 B. S. What? that late? (He counts to 120, then puts his gun to his shoulder and fires at the Turk.)
 T. (dying). Why did you do that, my brother?
 B. S. Why? See, that's the result of your ignorance and lack of civilization. Today, Monday, at seven o'clock exactly, the armistice is at an end. Of course you had no idea of that.
 T. My watch . . . is . . . three minutes . . . fast. (He dies.)
 B. S. (leaning over him in sorrow). Unhappy one! Not yet seven! International Law violated! Eu-

rope insulted! How can I stand up before the Great Powers now? (He takes the watch from the dead Turk and says, greatly troubled): This shall always remind me of my great wrong against International Law. (He weeps.)

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 Translated by H. C. Engelbrecht.)

We Cynics

WE fight the battles of the Lord
 With tinkling coffee spoon for sword. . . .

Too many rooms are lonelier
 For our not being there.
 Our steps re-echo going down
 Too many a narrow stair.

We have evaded too many a war
 And won too many a peace.
 The Promised Land has sunk. The moths
 Have eaten the golden fleece.

Quick, flames, thaw out our frozen springs!
 Bite clean our cynic stains!
 For ice-clad brooks give less to life
 Than snowpile-tunneling drains.

We act no Judas to the Lord.
 No kiss betrays. We are too bored.

RALPH CHEYNEY.

THERE SEEMS TO BE ONLY ONE DISTINGUISHING FEATURE



Orr, in The Chicago Tribune.

An Oriental View of Modern Civilization

MASAHARU ANESAKI

PROGRESS, Activity, Freedom, Utility, these are the chief features, and Science, Industry, Democracy, the motive forces of modern civilization. The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a flourishing period of that civilization called modern, not only exhibiting its flowers and fruits in the West but also spreading its roots and branches to the East. A few wars in that period were mere mistletoe on the branches. The gigantic tree was vigorous and blossoming. Many men and women who thronged to the Grand Exhibition at Paris in 1900 could now recall what a great impression was made on them by the numbers 1900 shining in the Château d'Eau under the similar illumination of the Tour Eiffel.

Then think of today, after a little more than a quarter of a century. The dropping of several crowns may not mean very much for the course of civilization. Yet general unrest is undeniable; the great challenge or threat is directed against capitalism, a fruit of modern civilization; a world-wide revolution, social and economic first but involving the whole of human life, is becoming a great inspiration to the Marxists; the fate of the Occident is questioned not only by the Orientals but even by the former champions of the Occident; questions are raised as to whether Christianity is losing its fundamentals, whether America is safe for democracy, and so on. No doubt there are many signs of new life in the world, yet evidently modern civilization as represented by the West is no more so self-contented and optimistic as it was thirty years ago. Has, as the Spenglers think, the summer time of Occidental culture passed, is its autumn coming to be followed by winter blasts? Are all these mere unfounded apprehensions or are there some reasons in this uneasiness?

Now, let us see whether there are any signs of decay in modern civilization. The enthusiasm for progress has no limit, because every zenith reached reveals further horizons. But can human nature be indefinitely satisfied by an endless pursuit without goal? May not the story of the Flying Dutchman be applied to the present situation? Pursuit of happiness is certainly a vital incentive to life, and in the present condition of modern civilization activity has become happiness in itself. Yet happiness is an extremely fugitive figure, the more so in an age of speed. No need of enumerating jazz bands, cubist pictures, agitating demonstrations of all kinds, anything and everything exciting. Many of those signs are certainly a part of the aftermath of the Great War but there is something more and deeper lying in the situation which was discernible even be-

fore the war and seems to last longer than this temporary disturbance. May all this not be a manifestation of the strained situation in which modern man is put, just on account of the progress achieved? Even without approving John Ruskin's contentions, every one can see evils in the mechanization of life. Man has made machines for himself but is becoming himself a tool of the machines. If this dictum be not wholly true, no one would dare to deny it entirely. Beside the tool-like position in which the average workman finds himself, nearly every man and woman nowadays lives more or less under the control, often tyranny, of mechanized devices or organizations. Quite naturally the human impulse for freedom takes its revenge; the frenzy for activity and speed seems to be partially a manifestation of this spirit of revolt.

But the logic of human life does not stop here. Activity accelerates speed, but human life, both individual and social, can never be speeded up in the same manner as its mechanic apparatus. Its physiological conditions remain the same; mental development cannot be quickened beyond a certain limit; instincts and inertia of habits, as well as racial heritages and social traditions, do not change as fast and freely as the tangible manifestations of civilization. Modern man finds himself in a strait washed by a strong current yet resisted by hard rocks at the basin. Hence the whirlpools of excitability and impatience. Quick temper may be a sign of youth in a young nation like America; but which nation, however old, can now be free from it? Not only the older nations of Europe but the much older ones of Asia are sharing in this conflict of inertia and speed. Ranging from cinema or Charleston dance to K.K.K. or Bolshevik revolution, everything "modern" is marked by impatient short-cuts. Quite naturally, many thinking people ask how far shall this go, and how far can mankind stand this strain. One need not be pessimistic; the human body can stand strain and hardships much more than we usually imagine, and human society is elastic and resourceful immensely more than its individual members. Yet every one must concede that this is an age of problems and that the most conspicuous of these is concerned with the general impatient mood of the age.

FOR finding a pathway or rather opening a high road out of the present strait, several opposites may be considered. We might refer to the medieval ideal of perfection in contradistinction to the modern one of progress; similar ones could be cited,

such as repose and composure, instead of activity and speed; bliss, against mere utility; faith, against experimentation; authority, against freedom. Every one of these certainly has some bearing upon the present situation. What the Roman Catholic Church stands for in condemning "modernism" represents fundamentally the attitude of denouncing the tendencies of modern civilization such as free activity, the spirit of experimentation (often branded as destructive criticism), and the idea of renovation tending to revolution. The rise of the more or less mystic Christian Science in the stronghold of Puritanism; the relatively easy acceptance found in America by Yoga, Vedanta, or Couéism; the seemingly remarkable revival of ancient Shinto ideas in Japan, the most modern nation of the East; these and many other similar phenomena are certainly reactionary. The word "reactionary" in a case like this is usually used to denote a quite transient phase of set-back in the larger process of progress. But can all these reactionary movements be so lightly disposed of as nothing but ephemeral? Even if so, who can, on the other side, be sure that "progress" is not so? If Gandhi's spinning-wheel be ephemeral, may the British rule of India be everlasting—ephemeral or eternal in the sense of duration, in the sense of depth and extent, in the sense of moral and social values. When the power of instinct revolts against the control of reason, it is certainly reactionary but it can have a meaning more than ephemeral. Similarly, when an old national heritage reacts against a newly introduced culture, the reactionary force is not necessarily transient. Considering these, what have we to discern in the movements, whether progressive or reactionary, in modern civilization?

Arriving at this point let us refer to the contrast between medieval and modern, Oriental and Occidental, implying various other aspects of antithesis. Apparently these contrasting terms represent quite different moods and tendencies hardly to be reconciled; yet we have to ask whether or not human life contains both of these two contrary forces, whether or not human history shows alternate ebbs and tides of opposite tendencies. Indeed human life is full of paradoxes and one of these is that seemingly contradictory forces often, if not always, supplement each other. Activity and repose follow one after another just as day and night, if not so regularly. Were not Jesus' quiet days in Galilee preparatory to his entry into Jerusalem? Were George Washington's reposeful years in Mount Vernon a contradiction to his life's work? Not only an alternate sequence of this kind but correlative mutuality is often a significant way of two different forces working for one and the same end. Every one knows that bodily development cannot be wholesome, without a close and simultaneous functioning of nutrition and oxidation, of metabolism and catabolism; the reason and

the instincts often come into conflict, yet the former is a cold locomotive without the heating of the latter, while the instinct alone is burning gasoline without the machinery; the prayerful piety of a saint is never a contradiction to his ardent work of charity, while the fervent zeal of a propagandist is a clanging cymbal without a union of his soul with divinity in pious devotion.

THE present status of human solidarity has been made possible partly through the world-wide extension of the physical and spiritual links established and stimulated by the free communication and intercourse of the peoples of the world, thanks to the benefit bestowed by modern civilization. The frequent contact of races and nations involves the possibilities of friction and conflict, but this inevitable evil is being partially balanced by the brighter aspect of human contact as stated above. Pros and cons can be cited and at present it seems not quite easy to weigh them in the balance. Yet it is undeniable that the vista of mankind as regards its sense of interrelation and solidarity has been much extended and deepened in these three centuries. The civilization whose stage was around the Mediterranean stepped forward to the one around the Atlantic, and now many people see that the Pacific is becoming a lake of the civilized world. Even admitting some threatening signs in the Pacific one should not lose sight of the other sides too. As a problem of peace or war there may come up a Rome and Carthage in the Pacific but who shall deny the possibility of an age of *pax dei* around that ocean? Anyway the extension of the human community and the deepening of the sense of solidarity are a product of modern civilization which is to be supplemented and edified by the higher ideal of humanity. It can never be a simple return to the Christian ecclesiastical unity of medieval Europe but the goal and aim should be an international and interracial one united by a stronger and higher aspiration for the realization of the intrinsic unity of human life. Democracy should not be limited within the national boundaries and in the political arena alone but be elevated to a universal democracy as an embodiment of the deeper sense of brotherhood.

Modern industry, in turn, involves in itself an element of conflict, the struggle between capital and labor, yet the benefits bestowed by it upon all mankind may tend to accelerate this true democracy of brotherhood, first by economic benefits and then through the ideal aim of universal happiness. In other words, modern industry, so long and so far as it is regarded as a matter of mere economic interest, would contribute little to the ideal aim of human democracy. But when the leaders of the world, whether the capitalists or workmen, should realize the higher meaning of industry for humanity, it would immensely contribute to the ac-

celeration of the true happiness including all kinds of blessings to nations, races and individuals. Gandhi's protest against mechanical industry may be too negative, but when we regard it as a form of protest against the monopolizing and exploiting system so dominant in modern industrial organization, we might see a meaning in his work pointing in another direction. Similar to John Ruskin's idea of the guild, or the Bolshevik striving for defeating capitalism, or the ideal and practice of non-possession as proposed by a leader like Nishida in Japan, every one of these should not be simply regarded as negative ideas and destructive force, but ought to be turned to the aim of fulfilling the higher spiritual purpose of industry. How this could be carried out is a great problem, but the vital point is that there is a possibility of doing this by overcoming the evils and securing the higher benefits of modern industry. It is to be emphasized that this could be done only through supplementing the economic bearings of industry by its moral and spiritual missions. In other words the sanctification of industry, which means its due evaluation not as an end in itself but as a means of attaining the perfect life of mankind.

SCIENCE starts with curiosity, steps forward by observation and experimentation, and its goal should be a full grasp of truth underlying natural occurrences and human events. These motives or steps of science are often united. But we can say in a general way that ancient science was chiefly a manifestation of curiosity, while modern science is chiefly engaged in the second stage. Then why could we not expect the third stage, the final aim being realized even now step by step and to be more fully realized in the future? The delight of scientific investigations lies certainly in dissecting complexities, sifting materials, testing hypothetic propositions. Even in carrying out these processes the scientist is happy in discovering something hidden before, in realizing certain principles underlying external manifestations, and finally in identifying his being as a knowing and thinking animal with the truths of cosmic existence. A Hindu proverb says that to know a truth is to become the truth. To know the things of the world and human life, to discover the deeper meaning of these, and finally to see the ultimate source of those laws and truths in the cosmic reason or divine wisdom, this ought to be the goal to be aimed at by science, a paradise in which the scientist can live in quest and beatitude.

If this be the nature of science, modern science is certainly nearer the goal than ancient or medieval, because the former was content mostly with apparent analogies of truths and the latter was too certain of its dogmatized teachings, caring little to criticize and to examine. One could easily cite the evils of modern science as manifested in selfish ambitions or vain glories

on the part of some scientists. But was the science of any age or nation entirely free from these evils? It is a part of human nature that pride is enhanced by discovery and selfish interests stimulated by unexpected revelations. There is no reason why we should accuse modern scientists only of these evils, which often destroy the real purpose and higher mission of science. The point is whether and how the scientist could realize the higher aims of his pursuit, not only for the sake of benefiting the whole of mankind but by bringing to light the deeper meaning of knowledge in the intellectual and spiritual life of man. Indeed the real scientist ought to be a seer looking into the innermost mysteries of existence, a priest revealing divine wisdom for the perfection of humanity, a saint piously contemplating the cosmic soul and blissfully immersed in the bosom of the divine Father. In this state of spiritual beatitude and intellectual bliss the scientist would not feel any contradiction between his experimental method and his pious devotion or contemplative serenity. The only question is how many of contemporary scientists are aware of their high mission. There are some and more will come; perhaps many are keeping this ideal in view, as more secrets of nature are coming to light and as scientific investigations go down deeper.

Science in this sense is a way of revealing the truth of oneness of existence, otherwise expressed by Christianity in the teaching of the unique Creator and by Buddhism in the doctrine of one and the same Buddhature pervading all. Modern science is so eminent in its investigations into physical nature but is now remarkably stepping forward to the search of the mysteries of human life, both individual and social, intellectual and spiritual. Modern science has accumulated a wonderful amount of material and secured a mastery of its methods; the consummation should be a fuller realization of its ideal aim of perfecting the fullness of life through the knowledge of truth. A fullness of life in developing the best aspects of human nature in all the individuals and in all the groups of man, by giving full opportunities to the dispositions, characters, and talents, as well as to the desires, hopes, aspirations of the whole mankind—the attainment of the true democracy. A fullness of life in supplying means and tools of human existence and elevating all those materials to the ideal aim of the perfect life—the realization of the moral and spiritual purpose of industry.

THIS is a very general idea about the constructive and promising side of modern civilization which seems to be coming out in the progress of modern civilization and particularly as the other evil sides of civilization are more and more keenly felt by thoughtful people. In this constructive prospect the mere glorification of modern civilization will have little share; thoughtful consideration will show that our civi-

ization should not be self-contented but be modest and ruth-seeking enough to see helpful and supplementary forces to be derived from all the branches of civilization and culture without distinction of ages and races. For as stated above the activity of modern civilization is not entirely contradictory to the dignified composure of medieval civilization, and similarly the progressive activity of the Occident is not an irreconcilable antithesis to the contemplative attitude of the Orient. According to our view those two are opposites united in basic principle, that is, the rich development of life aiming at the final goal of perfecting human life toward the divine.

Existence is continuous in spite of its varieties, life is one in spite of its changes, because things and beings are outcomes of one and the same source, offsprings of the unique Father, creatures sharing in the life, which fills all in all and accomplishes all through all. Any civilization and every effort for progress is only valuable and worthy of human dignity so far as it contributes to a fuller realization of the unity of life. Modern civilization, in spite of its many defects and present anomalies, is certainly a great contribution to this aim and purpose of human life. Direct the motive forces of modern civilization to this ideal aim, let the leaders of civilized societies fully realize the purpose of life. Then we could hope that modern civilization shall succeed in not destroying but fulfilling the best fruits of ancient and medieval civilizations, to no exclusion of the Oriental or any other. Then civilization would be the common heritage of the whole of mankind. For this reason Occidentals should not regard civilization as their monopoly, nor Orientals put obstructions to its spread and expansion. Therein shall vanish the pride and arrogance of the Nordic or white, the envy and indignation of the Asiatic or colored races. All must go, the vanity of mere activity and speed, as well as the pessimism of a fateful decline of the Occident.

The Builders

NOT in the dream of yesterday is found
 Substructure of the world that is to be;
 The pit was digged by no lone poet's plea,
 Nor did the blood of martyrs break the ground.
 Fear not! they shall be well-confessed and crowned
 Who played the prophets' part; yet shall men see
 The work was our humanity's, and we
 Are all together in the building bound.
 All life was in that quickening of the hand
 Which from the club wrought on to the machine;
 The airy uplift of the lumbering feet
 To argosies which all the heavens command;
 The few as nothing, to the myriad mean,
 In whom man's vast adventure is complete.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Teaching the Young Idea the Manly Art of Murder

FROM the Hi-Echo, we learn that "Notebooks on the World War are being made by the eighth grade."

A most splendid idea, but it is beginning rather abruptly, pushing the whole World War on the eighth graders. It would be better to start in gradually, teaching Waupaca school children the component parts which cumulate in war, the incidental elements which go into the grand, magnificent achievement.

For instance, we suggest that the first grade pupils be taught arson, the second grade mayhem, the third grade pillage, the fourth grade murder, the fifth grade plain and fancy lynching, the sixth grade a study of the lives of our brilliant fellow countrymen, Loeb, Leopold and Hickman; and perhaps the seventh grade could study such minor achievements as the frock-coated lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti and the bravery of United States marines who, safe in airplanes among the clouds, shoot down Nicaraguan peons with machine guns.

Then the eighth grade would be better able to appreciate the World War, in which their older brothers fought to make the world safe for the Dupont Powder Co., Harry Sinclair's government oil steal and 30,000 other millionaires created over night while the rest of us were eating barley bread, giving until it hurt and walking on gasless Sundays.

Seriously, though, isn't it rather absurd to teach those impressionable children all about that disgraceful affair, when they could employ their time in studying the peace movements of this era, for today there is the greatest movement for world peace that we have ever known.

When little boys differ they use their fists; when they grow up, they settle the issue with their minds. The world is reaching its maturity.

Let the eighth graders study the student youth movements in China, Germany and other war-oppressed countries, where a new generation, with a new vision, is telling the old folks, "You are all wrong. We don't want your old ideals, your old hatreds, your old prejudices and feuds. We want to understand these chaps from other countries, we want to be their friends, trade with them, enjoy their culture and teach them ours."

Better tear up those notebooks, children, and make some new ones, in commemoration of this era, in which the principles of that far-sighted, misunderstood Nazarene wood turner who told his associates, "Thou shalt not kill," and "Blessed be the peacemaker," are for the first time being understood as practical issues and not as every-seventh-day pratings of hypocrites.

—From the *Waupaca County News*.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Toward World Peace

MR. PAGE'S pamphlet on *The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace* affords a refreshing antidote to the nonsense and Chauvinism that is found in so much that has been written about the Monroe Doctrine. Students and statesmen alike should be indebted to him for the valuable inquiry he has made regarding the interpretation and value of the policy which masquerades under the name of the illustrious President whose name it bears, and for his summary and commentary on the replies received. These results show clearly the existence of a wide-spread feeling that Monroe's wise and justifiable policy has been extended and distorted far beyond its original conception and that various recent policies which are defended as corollaries of the Monroe Doctrine are not such in fact but are entirely different policies which have no relation to the Monroe Doctrine at all; nor are they based in any sense on the principle of the national defense either of the United States or the Latin-American countries. The replies from a large majority of those whose opinions were obtained show clearly also the existence of a wide-spread and increasing sentiment in favor of a substantial modification of the doctrine as it is now interpreted by our politicians and an outright abandonment of certain other policies which, although labeled with the name of Monroe, have no connection with or relation to the policy enunciated by him. It is to be hoped that our public men upon whom the responsibility for the interpretation and application of the Monroe Doctrine rests will read Mr. Page's pamphlet and consider seriously the results of his interesting referendum. One thing is clear, namely, if the relations between the United States and the Latin American Republics are to be characterized by mutual friendliness and understanding in the future this policy which now parades under the name of the Monroe Doctrine will have to be modified along the lines indicated in Mr. Page's pamphlet and the sooner our public men realize it the better it will be for the peace and friendship of the Americas.

Mr. Page's pamphlet on *The Renunciation of War* contains a clear, and on the whole, a sound analysis of the Kellogg proposal. As he points out, the value of the Multilateral Treaty must depend upon the degree to which the ratifying parties observe the spirit of its stipulations. It may therefore mark an epoch in the movement for the outlawry of war or it may prove to be a futile gesture—a mere platitudinous declaration without effect. Mr. Page does not overlook the manifest defects of the treaty as it is phrased. In the opinion of the reviewer its chief defect lies not in its failure to outlaw defensive wars. A proposal that goes to such lengths would stand no chance of being generally accepted. The right of self defense when attacked is a legitimate if not an inalienable right of nations as of individuals and it would be futile to endeavor to persuade states to renounce it. In my opinion the chief defect of the Kellogg Treaty is its omission of all definitions of "aggressive" and "defensive" wars. As it now stands each party to the treaty is left free to frame its own definition and to be the sole judge in particu-

lar cases as to whether a war begun by it is a war of defense or not. I agree with Mr. Page also that the treaty ought to lay down a definition of "war" itself so that there would be a criterion on test by which such operations as that which the United States has been carrying on in Nicaragua can be assigned to its category of "war" or something else. Without some such definition, what amounts to war in a material sense can be carried on by a party to the treaty under another name and whether it is forbidden by the treaty will be a matter of which the party engaging in it will be the sole judge. The omission of such a definition leaves a loophole for interventions which may be nothing else than wars of aggression.

Finally, in the opinion of the writer it is regrettable that the treaty, while pledging the parties to renounce war, subject to certain exceptions, fails to provide a mode of procedure for the peaceable settlement of controversies which give rise to wars. As it is, therefore, the treaty contains only a general declaration of renunciation. Unfortunately, treaties are not self-executing and to be given effect, machinery of execution must be provided.

Nevertheless, in spite of these defects, the conclusion of the treaty undoubtedly marks the most advanced step ever taken by a group of nations in the direction of the outlawry of war and if the obligation which it establishes is scrupulously performed in good faith, in spirit as well as in letter, the danger of wars of aggression as among the states ratifying it will be in a large measure removed. Mr. Page's remark that if the Senate of the United States ratifies this treaty it will be difficult to justify its excuse for refusing to give its consent to the ratification of the Permanent Court protocol is a very apt one. The American public will await with interest its action on the treaty; if it approves the treaty can it with consistency persist in its present attitude toward the Permanent Court and even the League of Nations? (Either of these pamphlets may be secured from Kirby Page at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, for 10 cents each, or 75 cents per dozen.)

J. W. GARNER.

Africa

THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN AFRICA,¹ by Raymond L. Buell, is a report to the Committee of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College. It is a study based on a fifteen months' visit to French, Belgian and British Africa, and to European capitals. Behind this must lie much study of the literature, laws and documents on which, far more than on the visits, the main conclusions rest.

The result is the only work on Africa today which in any degree fulfills the ideal of a study of Africa mainly from the point of view of the Africans. Even in this work this point of view is not absolutely achieved as the very title shows.

¹ Published by The Macmillan Company, in 2 Volumes, 1045 and 1101 pages, \$15.00.

The book is divided into 14 sections and 103 chapters and has 50 short appendices with important documents. It is an immense undertaking. Few people who have not been in Africa or studied her geography carefully realize her size and diversity. Naturally, in so large a study completed in a very short time, much depends on the attitude which the investigator brought to the subject. Mr. Buell is liberal. He looks upon Negroes as human beings, capable of development. At the same time, he has his prejudices: he spells "Negro" with a small "n"; he talks of them easily as "boys," and while he would not probably admit any theoretical prejudice against the educated and civilized Negro, he achieves sometimes the same result by considering them as a "race" rather than as individuals.

Nevertheless, with one fundamental omission, we have here a fair and, up to the present, the most complete statement on the present condition of African Negroes and of their relations to the governing European empires, and to the resident whites.

Nevertheless, this one fundamental omission is serious: Mr. Buell apparently is not a student of economics or a critic of modern industry. He assumes, therefore, that the present organization of European industry is going to continue indefinitely; that it must be applied to Africa, and that the program of Africa is to adjust natives and native life to this economic régime. The fact is patent that capitalistic industry as organized at present does work and achieve surprisingly successful results in Europe and America. But all men know that these results are becoming in great measure dependent upon the profits of capitalistic industry in Africa, Asia and other parts of the colored world. Especially in Africa, modern industry is working untold ill and the difficulty with Mr. Buell's otherwise excellent work is that he either does not realize this or does not think it wise resolutely to face this aspect of the problem.

The unfortunate results of this point of view show themselves all through the book. Continually, we face the most puzzling impasses; and when Mr. Buell has pointed out the difficulty in one case, in the next case, where this trouble does not appear, some other equally baffling difficulty does show itself. For instance, in Kenya and East Africa the main difficulty would seem to lie in compelling the natives to give up their land and to work for the resident whites. But in West Africa the natives have their land, and compulsory labor is at a minimum. Yet the difficulty there lies in social and industrial leadership. Shall it be that of the dominant white minority or of educated natives?

If the dominant whites lead, we have a situation like South Africa travelling backwards from every modern ideal; if a Negro *elite* is educated, as French Africa has tried to do, this involves a social equality of whites and blacks in government, which Anglo-Saxons (and Mr. Buell as one) do not like. Moreover, can a black *elite* lift the black mass? The English doubt the results of black leadership of the blacks, but Mr. Buell has to acknowledge that in Liberia there is less tension between the educated blacks and the natives than elsewhere in Africa; nevertheless by comparing commerce he belittles Liberia beside British controlled Sierra Leone and in Uganda, where native organization and government has been combined with more education than elsewhere. Mr. Buell still sees many difficulties in the new wealth that the natives are acquiring. Finally, in the Belgian Congo, where all danger of a leadership by a native *elite* has been warded off by the simple expedient of furnishing almost no education, Mr. Buell reaches complete stalemate:

The task of administering the Belgian Congo, from the standpoint of commercial development and of native interests, presents many oppressing difficulties. A territory ravaged by the slave trade and intertribal war, drained by the rubber exactions of King Leopold and financially bled to erect monuments in Europe, its population has become sparse, listless, and socially disorganized. Despite efforts of reform, the ravages of sleeping sickness and the exactions of industrialism still make inroads upon the native people. . . .

Confronted by the conflicting needs of a disintegrating native population and an ever-expanding industry, the Belgian government is now courageously attempting to impede the rate of development so that the native population may be saved and ultimate production be greater than if the native population languishes.

Out of which mess Mr. Buell comes to the astonishing conclusion that Belgium (not the Congo native but *Belgium*) "deserves the sympathy of the entire world"!

The fact of the matter is that after you have carefully catalogued the present situation in Africa, the difficulty about land, slavery, education and industry, you have over and above all the question as to what it is all about and whose interests are being conserved or should be conserved. Is Africa today to be looked upon from the point of view of its contribution to European industry, and is European industry the only possible method of developing Africa? As Mr. Buell says in his Preface:

Africa is the one continent of the world where by the application of intelligence, knowledge and good will, it is not too late to adopt policies which will prevent the development of the acute racial difficulties which have elsewhere arisen, and the evils of which have been recognized only after they have come into existence.

But what policies? It may be quite possible that modern industry in its present organization is not for the best interests of African natives, and that once this artificial stimulation is withdrawn from European industry, it too will be compelled to seek reform. In such case, the introduction into Africa of capitalistic industry should be restricted by thoughtful and farseeing men, even though this entails an entire change in the world's organization of industry and the profit-making ideal.

Whence will this thoughtful leadership in Africa come? It cannot come from parliaments a thousand miles away. It cannot come from resident white minorities whose ideal is black slavery. It must come, if it comes at all, from educated black men. Yet this obvious corollary Mr. Buell hesitates to accept. He does not say it in so many words but it is doubtful if he believes in real education for black men. He comes dangerously near sneering at Negro "scholars" and half educated men, and although he shows by his own figures how wretchedly small chance African Negroes have to become thoroughly educated, nevertheless he has no faith in those who have European training. He publishes among his documents, as an illustration of the Negro point of view, not the splendid and logical resolutions of the British Congress at West Africa, nor the resolutions of the four Pan African Congresses, but Garvey's rhodomontade.

We black men in America have lived through all this desperate attempt to deprive us of educated modern leadership, to laugh black college men out of court, and to make us dumbly accept white tutelage. We have beaten this effort into submission to the fact that black America is going to have a voice in black America's fate. Black Africa must and will do the same or die trying.

We have here, then, a work of erudition and industry which will add much to our knowledge of Africa, but a work incomplete and needing both economic and racial vision for real understanding of the great problem which it presents.

W. E. B. Du Bois.

Political Ammunition

PRESUMABLY there are some persons, at least a busload or two, who will want to peek under the campaign buttons and cigar bands in an effort to see the forthcoming election in perspective. Nothing of greater value for such a purpose has come to my attention than eleven attractive research reports boxed under the collective title, *Presidential Politics, 1928*. Richard Boeckel, their author, has the scarce ability to put facts in orderly procession and at the same time give the parade color and life and keep it in motion. As a consequence let not even he who reads while running feel affrighted by the word "research." Here are substantially all the available and relevant facts on such matters as presidential campaign funds, major party platforms in 1924, patronage influence in nominating conventions, the woman's vote in national elections, Tammany Hall in national politics, the religious issue past and present, prohibition, business conditions in election years, etc., etc. The material is issued under the auspices of a group whose services to writers, editors, public speakers and similar users of facts are of the highest character: the Editorial Research Reports, 839 Seventeenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. It sells for \$3.50 D. A.

Norman Thomas, Socialist Candidate

IN our issue for September we complained because there is no book about Norman Thomas, although lesser lights like Hoover and Smith have their numerous biographers. Since that time the omission has in some measure been remedied. A sketch amounting to some 17,000 words has been written about the Socialist leader by W. E. Woodward, author of "George Washington, the Man and the Image," etc. The essential facts, as well as the color and fire and sacrifice which Norman Thomas personalizes, are well handled, and Woodward manages to write warmly, affectionately, without slopping over or going into propagandist contortionism. The sketch is found in *The Intelligent Voter's Guide*, published as a campaign handbook for the Socialist Party, a booklet full of value for its richness of political material, partisan in character to be sure, but on the whole assuming, as most of the campaign handbooks do not, that some of the voters at least are capable of responding to noble appeals and social facts. From the Socialist Headquarters, 15 East 40th St., New York City, copies may be procured at 35 cents each. D. A.

Political Behaviorism

THE people of the United States aren't as wise, either to the short view or in the long run, as they think. They fall for propaganda, posters, speeches, platforms, pamphlets, five-minute ballyhoos, ward bosses, high-pressure organizations, and all the other innumerable mechanisms of politics—and almost entirely irrespective of whether all the bombardment of babel is truth or hokum. It is mainly hokum. Money talks most loudly in elections, especially when used to get out the precinct workers and their uniformly ample families. In short, rarely do the people elect any President on his merits, and rarely do we have men of great merit to choose from.

Is this cynicism? It is. But it is laid down by a well-informed observer of American politics, a veteran newspaper correspondent

—Mr. Frank R. Kent, in his latest book, *Political Behavior*. The book is not without glaring overstatements: for example, Mr. Kent says "bolters" never come back, whereas to contradict him there are Wheeler of Montana, the whole Progressive group in the last Congresses, and other examples farther back in history. Nevertheless, all deductions made, this remains a valuable, an instructive, a debunking, a sobering piece of work. It will help to pierce the veil of romantic obscurantism which keeps so many from any true comprehension of what our political processes are like. (Published by William Morrow and Co., \$2.50.) D. A.

The Old and the Young

"A MISERABLE fate, indeed, that of the hero who does not die, the hero who outlives his own fame! For in truth the hero always dies with the heroic moment: the man survives and fares ill." In these words, Luigi Pirandello seems to express the central theme of his recently translated novel, *The Old and the Young*,¹ sounding the keynote of a complex and many-chorded composition. A profound theme, significantly handled, and not without its special application to our times.

To embody this, Pirandello has chosen that period of Italian, more particularly Sicilian, history following the heroic and hopeful days of the *Risorgimento*, when the tide of enthusiasm had ebbed, to leave behind a muddy backwash of disillusionment, corruption, and decay, beneath which stirred confused currents of reaction and revolt. Already the air was filled with rumblings of impending social conflict, as the younger elements, realizing the failure of the earlier political revolution to relieve the economic distress of the masses, threw themselves ardently into the struggle on behalf of the rising socialist and labor movements of Italy. Into this vortex of social discontent Pirandello thrusts his characters, a varied and vivid company—Garibaldian veterans, fanatical royalists, modern bankers, industrialists, politicians, youthful agitators and revolutionists: the old looking back with pride and shame on the spectacle of the past and its sorry aftermath; the middle generation devoting their energies to the maintenance of the *status quo*, and the amassing of power and wealth; the young impatient, scornful of their elders, and of their decaying heritage, longing for the cleansing flood, for the "grand moment" of catastrophe and creation, when at last their restless, groping souls should find release in action.

While the background of the story is largely political, social, historical, the book is far from being, as it was called in a recent review, "an old-fashioned political novel," without intrinsic artistic value or general significance. On the contrary, as we should expect from the subtle and metaphysical author of "Six Characters" and "Henry IV," it is through its profound psychological penetration that the work achieves its deepest interest and significance. There are moments of melodrama verging on bathos, and a somewhat over-liberal indulgence in insanity, which threatens to become Pirandello's obsession. But as a whole the work is convincing and powerful, and deserves to be considered as a distinguished novel of disillusion, a brilliant study of social and psychological motivation, and a creative work of high rank in modern fictional writing.

CARROLL HOLLISTER.

¹ 2 vols. boxed, E. P. Dutton and Co., \$5.

Scientific Spending by the Nation

*The Road to Plenty*¹ is fourth in the series by Wm. Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings. Their thesis is that economic distress is due primarily to the fact that consumer buying does not keep pace with production, thus causing periodic industrial depression and prolonged unemployment. Their remedy is to adjust the flow of money to the consumers to the flow of goods produced. The first task is to measure the need. And so they suggest the creation of a Federal Budget Board with two main functions: issuing accurate reports concerning business conditions; and, second, advising the Federal Government as to the spending of its annual budget of four billion dollars. There is general agreement that the Government could aid greatly by holding back its building programs, road making, etc., during boom periods and pushing forward in periods of depressions. Scientific planning on a nation-wide scale is necessary if continuous prosperity is to be maintained. The authors' suggestions deserve careful consideration.

K. P.

Life and the Soldier

I HAVE never heard before of Austin Hopkinson, author of *Religio Militis*.² He is a member of Parliament and his book gives so many evidences of a highly disciplined mind and of an astute and sensitive soul that I have evidently not been keeping pace with English thought and life. Mr. Hopkinson was a private of Dragoons during the war and his *Religio Militis* is one of those belated fruits of the war. In it he lets the mind of the soldier play upon the mystery of life. Emancipated of all traditional religious and moral creeds he tries to build a new creed out of his experiences. In his religion he arrives at a neo-Manichaeism, which means that he is a dualist who can accept neither the conventional religious optimism nor the philosophies of rebellion and despair which have been so prevalent since the great conflict. It is rather singular that Mr. Hopkinson should find it necessary to revert to Manichaeism, a religion now remembered only because Augustine passed through it before he embraced and elaborated Catholic orthodoxy. Studdert-Kennedy, who had experiences in the war very similar to those of Mr. Hopkinson, tries to do justice to the tragic beauty of life which the war revealed by a new emphasis upon the cross as the basic symbol of life's realities. The two men use a different phraseology but both are in revolt against the easy optimism of traditional religious faith and both elaborate a creed much closer to the real facts of life than conventional religion.

In social and moral theory Mr. Hopkinson is an aristocrat who wants to appropriate some of the virtues of military leadership for social and economic life. Military leadership may be free of the motive of greed but is corrupted by many vices which outweigh its few virtues.

Religio Militis is worth reading even though some of the convictions expressed in it betray rather violent prejudices without a clue as to their real origin. The book is delightfully written in diction of studied elegance.

R. N.

¹ Published by Houghton, Mifflin, \$2.00.

² Published by Scribner, \$2.50.

The Darker Poets

COUNTTEE CULLEN has won for himself merited repute as one of the younger American poets. In *Caroling Dusk*, he now steps into the role of anthologist. All the poets represented in *Caroling Dusk* are Negroes. The selection is catholic, running all the way from Paul Laurence Dunbar to the "older moderns"—like Braithwaite, James Weldon Johnson, and Du Bois; and the "younger moderns," including Anne Spencer, Georgia Douglas Johnston, Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Langston Hughes, and numerous others. Several of the poems first appeared in *THE WORLD TOMORROW*.

Mr. Cullen's prejudice in favor of the more formal rhyme-schemes and rhythms is evident, a bias he freely admits. He has, in my opinion, been far too lenient in his compilation. Nevertheless, there are poems in the book that are lovely, and some filled with fervid, moving fire. It is far and away the best general presentation of the verse written by colored writers, and especially of the newer poets. If some of the early poems here printed deserve inclusion, it is hard to understand why Phyllis Wheatley, first in chronological order of Negro American verse writers, should be entirely barred out. The biographical notes are of great value to the ever-widening number of poetry readers to whom the increasing artistic expression of Negro writers, painters, singers, and actors is at once an intrinsic and sociological delight. (Published by Harper and Brothers, \$2.50.)

D. A.

The Big Parade

THE chief value of *Marching Men*, by Stanton A. Coblentz, lies in its abundant historical data to disprove the theory that man is by nature inclined to war. Mr. Coblentz has studied the motives and methods of war from the most primitive, the armies of ants, up to the most modern, even venturing into prophecy as to the nature of future wars. He discovers that with the progress of civilization, man, instead of becoming more humane in his fighting, has become more and more savage.

Some features of warfare have gone through most interesting development without changing essentially. One characteristic of successful warriors, from the most primitive to the most modern, is that they are always "notoriously eager to share their laurels with God." Some professional military men agree with Mr. Coblentz in his theory that the essentials of warfare are about the same as ever. One recently explained that David knew his ballistics and trajectories, and that Joshua captured Jericho by his knowledge of the laws of resonant vibrations. The old heroes of the Lord must have had military training!

Although he does not deny the biological factor altogether, the author presents a mass of evidence which relegates it to a position of minor importance by clearly disproving its primacy in the cases of the Bushmen of South Africa, the Aztecs, the Incas, the head-hunters of Borneo, the Banyoro of Africa, the North American Indians, and others.

This book should be on the shelf of every person studying the nature of warfare. Mr. Coblentz could help us further by going on in his research and trying to discover more about the Golden Age of Peace which Hesiod described. (Published by Unicorn Press, \$5.)

ROSSELL P. BARNES.

Sizing Up Rural Life

IN a new field of investigation, books and bulletins appear which awaken public attention; and for a period of time following such appearance everything else that comes to light is a re-hash of the earlier publications. It is therefore refreshing to find that in *Elements of Rural Sociology*,¹ by Newell L. Sims of Oberlin College, both the attitude and form of treatment show a tendency to pull away from the earlier rural life findings. The author has evidently conducted recent research in the field, and has dared to do a lot of original thinking.

The use of the word "Elements" in the title is significant, since Sims divided the entire field into four "elements" for consideration. Part II deals with "The Vital Element," the people themselves. The author does not fall into the habit of some rural sociologists who seem to feel it necessary to apologize for the characteristics of the rural people, and to bewail the assumed fact that they are inferior to urban people and rapidly degenerating. Both in tone of treatment and in actual data presented, Sims gives one a wholesome respect for our rural population.

Part III presents "The Cultural Element." The history of our rural cultural life is given in an interesting way, the attempt being to understand the rural people through viewing them in their proper historic setting. Next are presented the cultural institutions of rural society,—the home, the school, the church,—with further considerations of Play and Recreation and Sanitation and Health.

In Part IV "The Material Element" is treated in two chapters, "Farmers' Wealth and Income" and "The Farmer's Standard of Living."

The last section of the book applies the former findings to the building of the rural community. Under the title, "The Structural Element," the development of the organized life of the rural community is traced from ancient times to the modern day, and some deductions drawn for the better development of the rural community of the future.

The book should prove valuable both for the general reading of those who wish to bring their information in this field up-to-date and as a text following a course in general sociology.

WALTER BURR.

Must India Be Industrialized?

"MR. GANDHI seems to be, in effect, a great industrial engineer." This is the conclusion reached by Richard B. Gregg, an American writer, after two and a half years spent in studying the situation in India and recorded in *Economics of Khaddar*.² This volume will come as a great surprise to those American readers who have regarded Gandhi's economic program as a vain effort to scrap machine industry and revert to hand production. Mr. Gregg does not maintain that Gandhi's ideas would prove practicable in the United States or in Europe but that under the conditions which actually prevail in India today they are scientifically sound for that country.

The chief factor to be considered is the tremendous volume of unemployment in India. The number of rural workers unem-

ployed for three months each year is equivalent to more than twenty-six million workers idle for the entire year. It is obvious that this enormous army of unemployed could weave an almost incalculable quantity of khaddar, that is, hand-woven cotton cloth made of hand-spun yarn, if it could be enlisted behind Gandhi's program. At the incredibly low rate of two and one-third cents per day, these unemployed could earn nearly fifty per cent more than the total annual revenue of the Central Government of India, twice as much as the value of the total annual imports of manufactured cotton, and ten times as much as India's total expenditure on education.

Mr. Gregg summarizes the advantages of decentralized hand industry in India as follows: low cost of installation, low overhead, low maintenance, little storage, slight transportation cost, security of employment, increase in India's self-reliance. The author has considered various objections to the scheme and has cited an abundance of relevant evidence. This volume is indispensable to a clear understanding of why Gandhi is seeking to substitute hand industry for machine production. K. P.

Jack Kelso

ANY one who tends to exult in his radicalism and to boast of his freedom from convention will have some sober moments if he reads critically the new epic of American life, *Jack Kelso*, a dramatic poem by Edgar Lee Masters. The period covered by the poem is from the 1830's to the present day. Kelso was a friend of Lincoln in the days of his early manhood at New Salem. He was a liberal from the time when he was a pacifist in the Indian wars and the Mexican War right down to a present day meeting of radicals at Union Square protesting against the approaching execution of a man for killing a policeman who had tried to break up a meeting prohibited by law.

Jack Kelso does not answer questions; it asks them, and some tremendously significant and provocative ones. Masters inveighs against the abuses in our politics and government, the atrocities of our industrial order, and caustically satirizes some monstrosities in our social and religious customs. But what is the way out? Neither more liberty nor more radicalism. Even Abraham Lincoln did more harm than good. In fact, he forged the bands which have bound us in our present slavery. Kelso says to Lincoln in apostrophe as he looks upon the great bronze statue in the memorial at Washington:

The central sovereignty which you declared
Above the land, created by the states,
But by some magic potion made their master,
Has bred this soulless monster and these hates
Whose hope is ever Liberty's disaster.

Now there you stand in bronze, a myth adored;
Freedom's Apostle truly, who meant to save,
Now used by jobbers, by the exploiting sword
To slave the free with what you freed the slave.

But you will enjoy the delightful satire, especially one choice master stroke of subtlety at the expense of "Calvin",—unless you resent it, in which case you will seethe. But the binding of the book is stout. It will withstand your indignation,—you who are satisfied with the *status quo*. (Published by Appleton, \$2.50.)

ROSSELL P. BARNES.

¹ Published by Thomas Y. Crowell Co., \$3.75.

² Published by S. Ganesan, Madras. Copies may be secured from THE WORLD TOMORROW for \$0.85 paper cover.

Russia's New Women

FROM a background of rich experience as social worker, teacher, and observer in Russia, Jessica Smith has championed the women of the new Soviet State. Admitting the difficulties of the slow task of transforming an ideal into a reality, she discerns the courage and indomitable spirit of the leaders who, persistently, in school, in village soviet, in factory, in business, on farm, and in city are patiently working. They serve numbers of women who before the new regime had never lifted their eyes from the ground to which they were slaves.

Miss Smith has gathered her information carefully, and in her presentation has kept to the ideal of the Vanguard Press, to present facts clearly and fearlessly. These facts are not all to the credit of the present government, but throughout the book there is a sincerity and a faith that all who watch Russia with sympathy will be glad to have evidenced.

Miss Smith's acquaintance with women of various abilities and aims and her keen appreciation of innate fineness under an indifferent exterior make her book rich in color and human interest. It is an interpretation of the daring of the women of one nation in tackling problems that face women of all nations, *Woman in Soviet Russia* will attract those who are alive to the great movements of the day. (Published by Vanguard Press, 50c.) LOUISE GATES.

Six Hundred Millions Annually

THE standard year of the Dawes payments has begun. From now on for an unspecified number of years, Germany is supposed to pay to the Allies a total of 600 million dollars annually. During the four years during which the Dawes Plan has been in operation Germany has made the required payments regularly by borrowing an even larger sum each year from the Allies. Whether Germany will ever be able to increase her exports over her imports sufficiently to make possible the transfer of the specified amounts, and if so whether the Allies could afford to receive German goods in such quantities, are matters of vigorous debate. Two books have recently been added to the voluminous literature dealing with this subject. *Selected Articles on Interallied Debts*, compiled by James Thayer Gerould and Laura Wheeler Turnbull,¹ contains nearly 500 pages of factual data and opinion covering all phases of the problem. Arguments pro and con are given in considerable detail. *The War Debts*, by Philip Dexter and John Hunter Sedgwick,² is a well reasoned appeal to the American people for further reductions in the war debts. K. P.

¹ Published by H. W. Wilson Co., \$2.40.

² Published by Macmillan, \$1.50.

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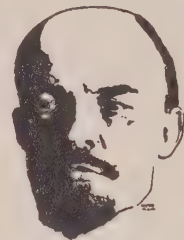
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The Evergreen Tree, by Kathleen Millay. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 5 x 7¾. 110 pages. \$2.00. Handicapped more than helped, no doubt, by her sister's fame, the younger Millay proves her own right to the regard of poetry lovers by these verses, none of which has ever been offered for magazine publication.

The Axe, by Sigfrid Undset, translated from the Norwegian by Arthur G. Chater. 1928. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 5½ x 8½. 341 pages. \$3. This is the first volume of long narrative which goes back to the 13th century. It rises out of the traditions of the period and the weaknesses of human nature. It is a vigorous and moving tale of two frustrated lovers.

Etched in Moonlight, by James Stephens. 1923. New York: The Macmillan Company. 5 x 8. 199 pages. \$2. The newest volume of short stories worth reading for the imagination, style, and intensity.

We Have Changed All That, by Herbert Quick and Eleana Stepanoff Macmabon. 1928. Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Co. 5½ x 8. \$2. Herbert Quick, in 1920 in Vladivostok liquidating the affairs of the Red Cross, met Elena Stepanoff, a refugee from Kazan, a member of the wealthy gentry. She told him her bitter story; she wished to tell it to the American public and later he collaborated with her. It would seem that his part did not extend beyond advice.

The Burning Bush, by Louis Untermeyer. 1928. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 5 x 8. 109 pages. \$2. The frontispiece is by Rockwell Kent. A collection of short lyrical poems; his first volume since 1923. Simplicity and versatility mark this book.

The Fairfield Experiment. The Story of One Episode in an Effort Towards a Better Understanding of Catholics by Protestants. 1927. New York: The Inquiry, 129 East 52nd Street. (Pamphlet) 5¼ x 7¾. 74 pages. 40c each; \$4 per dozen. A careful description of this piece of group study with suggestions for group discussion of religious differences.

The New Africa, by Donald Fraser. New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1928. 7¾ x 5¼. 206 pp. \$1.00. An interesting account of social conditions and customs in Africa, with a discussion of the contribution being made by Christian Missions.

The Gospel for Asia, by Kenneth Saunders. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928. 9 x 6. 245 pp. \$2.50. A comparative study of three religious masterpieces: Gita, Lotus, and Fourth Gospel, by a recognized authority.

Science in Search of God, by Kirtley F. Mather. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1928. 7½ x 5½. 159 pages. \$2.00. A Harvard professor of geology gives reasons for the faith that is within him. An antidote for fundamentalism in science as well as in religion.

The Creative East, by J. W. T. Mason. New York: Dutton Company. 1928. 7 x 5¼. 144 pages. \$1.50. Civilization may be tested by the degree to which spirituality, aestheticism, utilitarianism are blended. By this standard the author evaluates the culture of India, China, and Japan.

Prophets True and False, by Oswald Garrison Villard. New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. 8½ x 6. 355 pages. \$3.50. The grandson of William Lloyd Garrison sketches the careers of a score of American politicians and a few statesmen. A series of extraordinarily vivid and illuminating characterizations.

Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, by Charles Evans Hughes. Princeton University Press. 1928. 8½ x 6. 124 pages. \$1.75. A restrained and able defense of several aspects of the foreign policy of the United States. The distinguished author believes that the frequent military interventions of the United States in the Caribbean have been necessary and justifiable.

A Political Handbook of the World, edited by Malcolm W. Davis and Walter H. Mallory. New York: Council on Foreign Relations. 1928. 10 x 7¾. 192 pages. \$2.50. A comprehensive survey of parliaments, parties and press of various foreign countries.

Concepts of State, Sovereignty and International Law, by Johannes Mattern. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1928. 9¼ x 6¼. 200 pages. \$2.50. A scholarly and somewhat technical discussion of the nature of the state.

Jay Gould, by Robert Irving Harshaw. New York: Greenberg. 1928. 9¼ x 6¼. 200 pages. \$3.50. How speculators gathered in their millions in the good old days before "socialistic" control shackled the railroads.

China and England, by W. E. Soothill. New York: Oxford University Press. 1928. 9 x 6. 228 pages. 7s. 6d. An English authority on China outlines the cultural, economic and political development of that ancient land and presents the liberal British attitude toward imperialism.

Sweden's Best Stories, edited by Hanna Astrup Larsen. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1928. 7½ x 5¼. 365 pages. \$2.50. An introduction to Swedish fiction through twenty-two stories.

Norway's Best Stories, edited by Hanna Astrup Larsen. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1928. 7½ x 5¼. 369 pages. \$2.50. They are all here: Knut Hamsun, Johan Bojer, Jacob Bredt Bull, and a score of others.

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If You Don't Like This Country—

RECENTLY I have encountered what seems to be the original of the "Why don't you go back to Russia?" gag. It occurs in the debates of the Virginia ratifying convention. Patrick ("Liberty or Death") Henry had been inveighing against the proposed Constitution as subversive of human liberty. Whereupon a Mr. Stephens delivered himself thus: "If the gentleman does not like this government, let him go and live among the Indians!" He was kind enough to add: "I can furnish him with a vocabulary of their language." (See Morison's *Sources and Documents, The American Revolution, 1764-1788*, p. 348.)

Harvard University.

KENNETH W. PORTER

On Behalf of Smith

YOUR editorial in the August issue on "Shall We Vote for Al?" found Smith to be so slightly superior to Hoover that you discarded him in the same fire with Hoover and turned to Norman Thomas, believing him to be the logical candidate. I agree that Thomas is the best man of the three, and feel that even his most ardent supporters fail to give him sufficient credit for executive ability and keen knowledge of domestic and international affairs. Nevertheless, I regard the difference between Smith and Hoover, admittedly the only candidates with a possibility of winning, as great enough to warrant the attention of the independent Progressives.

That Smith is seeking the endorsement of big business is no indication that he will give big business the almost undivided attention that it will receive from Hoover. Business interests of New York have been instrumental in selecting Smith as their Governor, but he has not allowed their support to interfere with his independence, as he has proved in his courageous attacks on the power trusts. Smith has shown time and again that his chief interest lies in human welfare, while Hoover, on the other hand, is a good business man interested in the efficient and economical mechanization and standardization of whatever he may have under his jurisdiction. He is humanitarian only when it does not interfere with the business machinery to be so. At the present time housing, flood-control, farm relief, and unemployment, questions which the next President must face, cannot be satisfactorily solved by a shrewd business man. Only one interested in the general welfare of society as a whole should determine policies on these problems which affect many other types of people beside the bankers and brokers and manufacturers.

But as conditions stand now, Smith's chances are slim. The South, New York and New Jersey will not give him the election. To win, he must carry the doubtful New England States, Maryland and the Progressive States of the Northwest at least. But he cannot carry these if the independent voters throw their support to the Socialists, or to Hoover because "he fed the German babies."

I cannot conceive of either of the old parties ever daring to nominate a man more independent, straightforward, and progressive than Smith, and it is unfortunate that the Progressives allow a possible victory for Smith to slip into the hands of an undesirable opponent because Al does not fulfill their Highest Ideal of President.

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Swarthmore, Pa.

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The Last Page

ON the morning after Herbert Hoover growled into the mike at Palo Alto many of the newspapers carried two things of outstanding interest. One was Doctoroff's drawing of the Republican candidate, printed as Mr. Hoover's choice for his campaign picture. The other was a photograph of the same Herbert Hoover—supposedly—delivering his acceptance speech. The official drawing looks like that of a college youth or at the oldest a new instructor; the photograph looks—shall I say—very different.

Talk about your dual personalities! That man Hoover will never have any trouble getting in at a father-and-son banquet.

* * *

WHEN it comes to logic one may haunt the psychopathical laboratories for a long time before surpassing the performances of Thomas Heflin, United States Senator, who divides his efforts apparently between the issuance of anti-papal bulls and saving the nation from Al Smith. Tom, who has been conducting some quiet—possibly—research, has discovered that on Sundays the ships of our navy float a chaplain's flag above the Stars and Stripes. The chaplain's flag bears a blue cross on a white shield, which proves conclusively that an agent of Romanism has secret hands upon our naval halyards. The dogmas of the Papacy shall never rule the navy if Thomas can help it; so Thomas proposes that the dogmas of the religion of patriotism be henceforth unquestioned, and that hereafter no flag shall ever float above Old Glory. All of which is a beautiful game of logic; a sort of "Ikon, Ikon, who's got the Ikon?"

* * *

"THE extreme pacifists," explains the esteemed *Herald-Tribune*, "place their faith in phrases and judge a public man as for or against them by the frequency with which he utters the word 'peace.'" Sure we do; but not in the sense intended by the *Herald-Tribune*. From experience and careful study of our friends the ardent militarists, we pacifists just look around for the fellow who utters the word "peace" all the time, and when we find him keep our eye on him continuously. For he is the fellow we have most to look out for. As a rule he is a general, or an admiral, or a reactionary newspaper editor.

* * *

I'VE heard Al say "orspittle," "Wash'n't'n," etcetera, and I began to fear for the elocutionists' vote when the Smith acceptance speech was approaching. I'm committed to Norman Thomas as a man who can both speak and think straight; but I'd rather have Al than Herbert, though the difference isn't so much. Herbert has no dialect, and Al most certainly has: New York's Governor is the Governor of New York, which explains "foist," "toin," and instead of "joined" the Manhattan Island localism "jerned." Al did say "hun'r'et" and "rellum." But apart from dialect alone, the honors all were Al's. The paragon of education and culture from California said rampant for rampant, demonstratable for demonstrable, woomin for women, comparable for comparable, emigrant for immigrant, exigency for exigency; and he also split the difference by pronouncing "national" once with a long "a" and once with a short. This man seems bound to be equivocal!

OF course, speech isn't all, and anyone is subject to mistakes. At times, however, the errors seem more conspicuous than otherwise they might. When a long-time propagandist for the adoption of a national flag code to regiment the American people into harmonious and standardized patriotism stands before a Congressional committee I expect him to be an authority on matters of patriotism and public affairs. Here is Mr. Gridley Adam according to the records, on last January 25th:

A short time ago President Cleveland talked to the radio, and had a flag draped there—but he did not do it the last time—

MR. MONTAGUE (interposing). You do not mean President Cleveland, do you?

MR. ADAMS. Pardon me, I meant President Coolidge. . . . (A MOMENT LATER) I can show you no less a person than Colonel Byrd in Boston, with the flag hanging right under them, on top of the railing.

MR. MONTAGUE. Who is Colonel Byrd?

MR. ADAMS. The flyer.

MR. MONTAGUE. He is in the Navy, and they do not have Colonels in the Navy.

MR. ADAMS. Well, pardon me.

It remained for that eminent musician, Commander John Philip Sousa, nevertheless, to commit the world's supreme *faux pas*. Last January he, too, was testifying at a hearing on behalf of a bill granting commissions to army bandmasters. Said the Commander "With all due respect to the military side, I was 17 years in the Marines, and two in the Navy, and I will take any man who is not an absolute idiot, and teach him the trade of a soldier in three months." Also the Commander gave some expert advice on How to Be a Gentleman. Said he: "If you find the men who occupy the positions as band leaders in the service now are not up to the standard of a gentleman, according to the military and naval standard, then, for God's sake, get gentlemen in that position, but you are not going to get them unless you give these men command over that which they are teaching."

*If I'm to be a gentleman, a really truly gentleman,
You've got to deck me out with pomp and power;
No man can be congenial when he is but a menial
To stars and bars and stirrup-straps and other Men of the Hour;
"None shall be cheek to cheek wi' us, who's forced to be
obsequious"—*

*Thus speak the sambrownes from their pride and place;
But when I'm belted tighter I can be, oh, much politer,
I will always wear the kindest kind of face.
When the boys they must salute me then I'll know they can't
pollute me;*

Why, I'll blossom like the flowers in the spring.

Tra la!

I'll blossom like sweet flowers in the spring.

*There is something in my make-up that just makes my courtesy
break up*

When I'm prodded by inferiority's sting.

*I can't carry kindness far when with people on a par,
But if I am an ossifer,—boy, that's Another Thing!*

Tra la!

As a boss I'm just the very opposite thing.

* * *

THE world's newest boss is Zogu, of Albania. Taking no chances on an insufficient acclaim upon his accession to the throne, he caused placards to be placed all about the city of Tirana bidding the populace exhibit enthusiasm and give him hearty cheers. It's a real idea. If I had the authority I ought to, I would end every Last Page with a fearsome imperative:

Laugh, clown, laugh!

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